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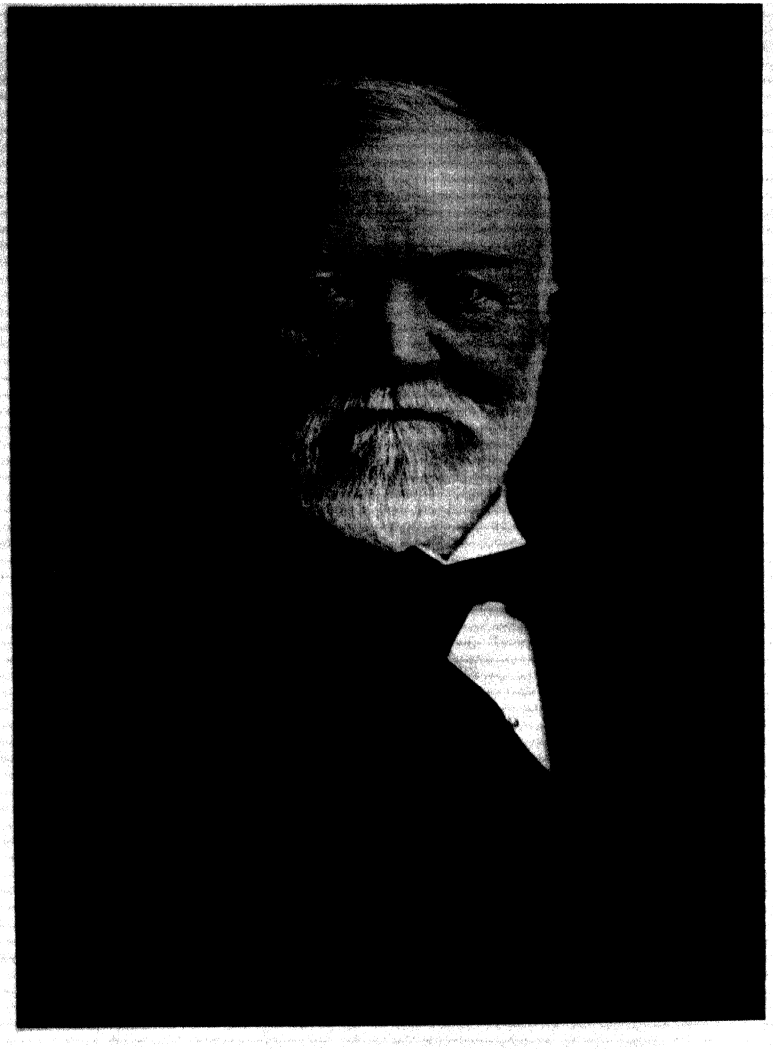

Andrew Carnegie

November 25, 1835 – August 11, 1919

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT

for

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Founded December Fourteenth
Nineteen Hundred and Ten

YEAR BOOK
1920

No. 9

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ENDOWMENT
2 JACKSON PLACE
WASHINGTON, D C.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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THE RUMFORD PRESS
CONCORD

YEAR BOOK

OF THE

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT

FOR

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

1920

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[1] Deceased.

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December 14, 1910.

GENTLEMEN: I hav transferd to you as Trustees of the Carnegie Peace Fund, Ten Million Dollars of Five Per Cent. First Mortgage Bonds, the revenue of which is to be administerd by you to hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization. Altho we no longer eat our fellowmen nor torture prisoners, nor sack cities killing their inhabitants, we still kill each other in war like barbarians. Only wild beasts are excusable for doing that in this, the Twentieth Century of the Christian era, for the crime of war is inherent, since it decides not in favor of the right, but always of the strong. The nation is criminal which refuses arbitration and drives its adversary to a tribunal which knows nothing of righteous judgment

I believ that the shortest and easiest path to peace lies in adopting President Taft's platform, who said in his address before the Peace and Arbitration Society, New York, March 22, 1910:

"I hav noticed exceptions in our arbitration treaties, as to reference of questions of national honor to courts of arbitration. Personally, I do not see any more reason why matters of national honor should not be referd to a court of arbitration than matters of property or of national proprietorship. I know that is going farther than most men are willing to go, but I do not see why questions of honor may not be submitted to a tribunal composed of men of honor who understand questions of national honor, to abide by their decision, as well as any other questions of difference arising between nations."

I venture to quote from my address as President of the Peace Congress in New York, 1907:

"Honor is the most dishonord word in our language. No man ever touched another's man honor; no nation ever dishonord another nation; all honor's wounds are self-inflicted."

At the opening of the International Bureau of American Republics at Washington, April 26, 1910, President Taft said:

"We twenty-one republics can not afford to hav any two or any three of us quarrel. We must stop this, and Mr. Carnegie and I will not be satisfied until all nineteen of us can intervene by proper mesures to suppress a quarrel between any other two."

I hope the Trustees will begin by pressing forward upon this line, testing it thoroly and douting not.

The judge who presides over a cause in which he is interested dies in infamy if discovered. The citizen who constitutes himself a judge in his own cause as

against his fellow-citizen, and presumes to attack him, is a law-breaker and as such disgraced. So should a nation be held as disgraced which insists upon sitting in judgment in its own cause in case of an international dispute.

I call your attention to the following resolution introduced by the Committee of Foreign Relations in the first Session, Fiftieth Congress, June 14, 1888:

> Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), that the President be, and is hereby, requested to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which can not be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration and be peaceably adjusted by such means [resolution not reached on calendar during session, but reintroduced and passed: Senate, February 14, 1890; House, April 3, 1890].

This resolution was presented to the British Parliament, which adopted a resolution, approving the action of the Congress of the United States and expressing the hope that Her Majesty's Government would lend their ready cooperation to the Government of the United States for the accomplishment of the object in view [Resolution of the House of Commons, July 16, 1893, Foreign Relations, 1893, 346, 352].

Here we find an expression of the spirit which resulted in the first international Hague Conference of 1899; the second Hague Conference of 1907; and eighty treaties of obligatory arbitration between the great nations of the world, our own country being a party to twenty-three of them.

It was my privilege to introduce to President Cleveland in 1887 a Committee of Members of the Parliament of Britain, hedded by Sir William Randal Cremer, in response to the action of Congress, proposing a treaty agreeing to settle all disputes that mite arise between America and Great Britain by arbitration. Such a treaty was concluded between Lord Pauncefote and Secretary Olney in 1897. It faild of approval by the necessary two-thirds majority of the Senate by only three votes.

There is reason to believ that the British Government has been desirous of having that treaty ratified by our Government or redy to agree to another of similar character, so that President Taft's policy seems within easy reach of success. If the English-speaking race adopts such a treaty we shall not hav to wait long for other nations to join, and it will be noticed that the resolution of Congress in 1890 embraces "any government with which the United States has or may hav diplomatic relations".

If the independence and rights of nations to their respectiv internal policies were first formally recognized in such treaties, no dispute concerning these elements of sovereignty could arise.

In order to giv effect to this gift, it will be suitable that the Trustees herein named shall form a corporation with lawful powers appropriate to the accom-

plishment of the purposes herein exprest and I authorize the conveyance of the fund to such a corporation.

The Trustees hav power to sell, invest, or re-invest all funds, either in the United States or in other countries, subject as respects investments in the United States to no more restriction than is imposed upon savings banks or insurance companies in the State of New York.

No personal liability will attach to Trustees for their action or nonaction as Trustees. They may act as a Board. They hav power to fill vacancies or to add to their number and to employ all officials and to fix their compensation whether members of the Board or not. Trustees shall be reimburst all expenses incurd in connection with their duties as Trustees, including traveling expenses attending meetings, including expenses of wife or dauter to each annual meeting. A majority of the Trustees may act for the whole. The President shall be granted such honoraria as the Trustees think proper and as he can be prevaild upon to accept.

Lines of future action can not be wisely laid down. Many may hav to be tried, and having full confidence in my Trustees I leav to them the widest discretion as to the mesures and policy they shall from time to time adopt, only premising that the one end they shall keep unceasingly in view until it is attained, is the speedy abolition of international war between so-cald civilized nations.

When civilized nations enter into such treaties as named, and war is discarded as disgraceful to civilized men, as personal war (duelling) and man selling and buying (slavery) hav been discarded within the wide boundaries of our English-speaking race, the Trustees will pleas then consider what is the next most degrading remaining evil or evils whose banishment—or what new elevating element or elements if introduced, or fosterd, or both combined—would most advance the progress, elevation and happiness of man, and so on from century to century without end, my Trustees of each age shall determin how they can best aid man in his upward march to higher and higher stages of development unceasingly; for now we know that man was created, not with an instinct for his own degradation, but imbued with the desire and the power for improvement to which, perchance, there may be no limit short of perfection even here in this life upon erth.

Let my Trustees therefore ask themselvs from time to time, from age to age, how they can best help man in his glorious ascent onward and upward and to this end devote this fund.

Thanking you for your cordial acceptance of this trust and your harty approval of its object, I am

Very gratefully yours,

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Witness:

LOUISE WHITFIELD CARNEGIE.

MARGARET CARNEGIE.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE GIFT

On the date of Mr. Carnegie's letter, the Board of Trustees designated by him, met in Washington, and Mr. Choate addressed Mr. Carnegie and the members of the Board as follows:

> Mr. President, I suppose the first business in order would be the formal acceptance of this remarkable gift from Mr. Carnegie. It is impossible for me, or I think for anyone, to find adequate words to express our appreciation and gratitude for this wonderful gift. Mr. Carnegie has been known for many years now as a great benefactor to his race and the whole civilized world is covered with proofs of his beneficence. Great trusts that he has established for the benefit of mankind have already demonstrated the wisdom of his designs and his gifts; but in this enterprise for peace which he has undertaken, he has in my judgment attempted the most difficult, as well as the most far reaching and beneficent, of all his works.
>
> Twenty years ago such a proposition as he has made in the remarkable paper that he has read would have been received with wonder and incredulity, and would have been regarded as hopeless and impossible; but enormous progress has been made in those twenty years, and very largely by his personal influence. Twelve years ago, when the Emperor of Russia first proposed that the nations of the earth should assemble by their accredited representatives to consider the question of peace and disarmament or mitigation and regulation of armament, the proposition was received almost with contempt in many countries of the world; but when that body assembled—there is nobody who can tell us better than Dr. White about that—it made immense progress in the direction of peace and harmony among nations. Eight years afterwards, when under your direction, Mr. Chairman, we went again to The Hague for the same purpose, still further progress was made, and by the result of those two assemblages, as the result also of the cultivation of public opinion in favor of peace, among all civilized nations, this proposed gift of Mr. Carnegie is not only made possible but the promise of it is to my mind absolutely certain.
>
> At the same time I think it may be regarded as the most difficult work that he has yet entrusted to any board of trustees or has himself undertaken. That it is sure to come in the end, no reasonable man can doubt; but anyone who has attempted any work in this direction knows the enormous difficulties that lie in the way, in the prejudices, the interests and the determination of the various great nations of the world. I will not attempt to enlarge upon the subject. I am sure that we shall devote our best endeavors to carry out the object that Mr. Carnegie has expressed in his letter of gift, and that among our first objects will certainly be to promote what he has evidently so much at heart, and what he is so absolutely assured will be hailed with cordial welcome on the other side of the border—the ratification of the treaty that he has referred to between England and the United States—for I am satisfied that if those two nations are bound together in terms of lasting

friendship and peace it would go far to secure the peace of the whole world. I therefore offer this resolution of acceptance:

Resolved, That the Trust Fund, for the promotion of peace, specified in the instrument subscribed to and delivered this day by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, be and it is hereby accepted for the purposes prescribed by the donor.

Resolved, That in undertaking to hold and use, in trust, this munificent gift for the benefit of mankind, the Trustees are moved by a deep sense of the sincere and noble spirit of humanity which inspires the donor of the Fund. They feel that all thoughtful men and women should be grateful to him, and should be glad to aid, so far as lies within their power, towards the accomplishment of the much-to-be-desired end upon which he has fixed his hopes, and to which he desires to contribute. They are not unmindful of the delicacy and difficulty involved in dealing with so great a sum, for such a purpose, wisely and not mischievously, and in ways which shall be practical and effective. They accept the Trust in the belief that, although, doubtless, many mistakes may be made, great and permanent good can be accomplished.

The Chairman directed the Secretary to call the name of each Trustee, in order that the Trust might be accepted personally by each Trustee present, and the resolution was unanimously adopted. The Chairman then declared that by these acceptances the persons present were constituted Trustees under the instrument of gift, with the powers and obligations specified therein.

PROPOSED CHARTER APPROVED IN THE BY-LAWS OF THE ASSOCIATION[1]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following persons, namely, Robert S. Brookings, Thomas Burke, Nicholas Murray Butler, John L. Cadwalader, Joseph H. Choate, Cleveland H. Dodge, Charles W. Eliot, Robert A. Franks, Arthur William Foster, John W. Foster, Austen G. Fox, William M. Howard, Samuel Mather, Andrew J. Montague, George W. Perkins, Henry S. Pritchett, Elihu Root, Jacob G. Schmidlapp, James Brown Scott, James L. Slayden, Albert K. Smiley, Oscar S. Straus, Charles L. Taylor, Charlemagne Tower, Andrew D. White, John Sharp Williams, Robert S. Woodward, Luke E. Wright, their associates and successors, duly chosen, are hereby incorporated and declared to be a body corporate of the District of Columbia by the name of the "Carnegie Endowment for International Peace," and by such name shall be known and have perpetual succession, with the powers, limitations, and restrictions herein contained.

SECTION 2. That the objects of the corporation shall be to advance the cause of peace among nations, to hasten the abolition of international war, and to encourage and promote a peaceful settlement of international differences, and, in particular—

(a) To promote a thorough and scientific investigation and study of the causes of war and of the practical methods to prevent and avoid it.

(b) To aid in the development of international law, and a general agreement on the rules thereof, and the acceptance of the same among nations.

(c) To diffuse information, and to educate public opinion regarding the causes, nature, and effects of war, and means for its prevention and avoidance.

(d) To establish a better understanding of international rights and duties and a more perfect sense of international justice among the inhabitants of civilized countries.

(e) To cultivate friendly feelings between the inhabitants of different countries, and to increase the knowledge and understanding of each other by the several nations.

(f) To promote a general acceptance of peaceable methods in the settlement of international disputes.

(g) To maintain, promote, and assist such establishments, organizations, associations, and agencies as shall be deemed necessary or useful in the accomplishment of the purposes of the corporation, or any of them.

[1] H. R. 32084, Sixty-First Congress. This bill has not been reintroduced in subsequent Congresses.

(h) To take and hold such property, real or personal, and to invest and keep invested and receive and apply the income of such funds, and to construct and maintain such buildings or establishments, as shall be deemed necessary to prosecute and develop the purposes of the corporation, or any of them.

(i) To do and perform all lawful acts or things necessary or proper in the judgment of the Trustees to promote the objects of the corporation.

With full power, however, to the Trustees hereinafter named, and their successors, from time to time, to modify the conditions and regulations under which the work shall be carried on, and the particular purposes to which the income shall be applied, so as to secure the application of the funds in the manner best adapted to the conditions of the time: *Provided*, That the purposes of the corporation shall at all times be among the foregoing or kindred thereto.

SECTION 3. That the management and direction of the affairs of the corporation and the control and disposition of its property and funds shall be vested in a Board of Trustees, twenty-eight in number, to be composed of the following individuals: Robert S. Brookings, Thomas Burke, Nicholas Murray Butler, John L. Cadwalader, Joseph H. Choate, Cleveland H. Dodge, Charles W. Eliot, Robert A. Franks, Arthur William Foster, John W. Foster, Austen G. Fox, William M. Howard, Samuel Mather, Andrew J. Montague, George W. Perkins, Henry S. Pritchett, Elihu Root, Jacob G. Schmidlapp, James Brown Scott, James L. Slayden, Albert K. Smiley, Oscar S. Straus, Charles L. Taylor, Charlemagne Tower, Andrew D. White, John Sharp Williams, Robert S. Woodward, Luke E. Wright, who shall constitute the first Board of Trustees. Vacancies caused by death, resignation, or otherwise shall be filled by the remaining Trustees in such manner as shall be prescribed from time to time by the by-laws of the corporation. The persons so elected shall thereupon become Trustees and also members of the corporation.

SECTION 4. That the principal office of the corporation shall be located in the District of Columbia, but offices may be maintained and meetings of the Trustees and committees thereof may be held elsewhere, as provided by the by-laws of the corporation.

SECTION 5. That the Board of Trustees shall be entitled to take, hold, and administer any securities, funds or property which may at any time be given, devised, or bequeathed to them or to the corporation for the purposes of the trust; with full power from time to time to adopt a common seal, to appoint such officers and agents, whether members of the Board of Trustees or otherwise, as may be deemed necessary for carrying on the business of the corporation, at such salaries or remuneration as the Trustees may deem proper; with full power to adopt by-laws and such rules or regulations as shall be deemed necessary to secure the safe and convenient transaction of the business of the corporation; and full power and discretion to invest any principal and deal with and expend the income of the corporation in such manner as in the judgment of the Trustees will best promote the objects hereinbefore set forth; and, in

general, to have and use all the powers and authority necessary and proper to promote such objects and carry out the purposes of the corporation. The Trustees shall have power to hold as investments any securities given, assigned, or transferred to them or to the corporation by any person, persons, or corporation, and to retain such investments, and to invest any sums or amounts from time to time in such securities and in such form and manner as may be permitted to trustees or to charitable or literary corporations for investment according to the laws of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, or Massachusetts, or any of them, or in such securities as may be authorized for investment by any deed of trust, or by any act or deed of gift or last will and testament.

SECTION 6. That all personal property and funds of the corporation held, or used, for the purposes thereof, pursuant to the provisions of this act, whether of principal or income, shall, so long as the same shall be so used, be exempt from taxation by the United States or any Territory or District thereof: *Provided*, That such exemption shall not apply to any property, principal or income, which shall not be held or used for the purposes of the corporation.

SECTION 7. That the services of the Trustees, when acting as such, shall be gratuitous, but the corporation may provide for the reasonable expenses incurred by the Trustees in attending meetings or otherwise in the performance of their duties.

SECTION 8. That Congress may from time to time alter, repeal, or modify this act of incorporation, but no contract or individual right made or acquired shall thereby be divested or impaired.

BY-LAWS OF THE ASSOCIATION

ADOPTED MARCH 9, 1911

ARTICLE I

THE TRUSTEES

SECTION 1. Pending the incorporation of the Trustees, the business of the Trust shall be conducted by the Trustees as an unincorporated association, and shall be managed and controlled by the Board of Trustees, which shall consist of twenty-eight members, who shall hold office continuously and not for a stated term.

The name of the association shall be "Carnegie Endowment for International Peace."

SECTION 2. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall be filled by the Trustees, by ballot, by a vote of two-thirds of the Trustees present at a meeting. No person shall be elected, however, who shall not have been nominated, in writing, by some member of the Board of Trustees twenty days before an annual or special meeting. A list of the persons so nominated, with the names of the proposers, shall be mailed to each member of the Board of Trustees twenty days before a meeting, and no other nomination shall be considered except by the unanimous consent of the Trustees present.

SECTION 3. In case any Trustee shall fail to attend three successive annual meetings of the Board, he shall thereupon cease to be a Trustee.

SECTION 4. No Trustee shall receive any compensation for his services as such.

ARTICLE II

MEETINGS

SECTION 1. The principal office of the association shall be in the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia. The annual meeting of the Board of Trustees shall be held on the third Friday of April in each year.[1]

SECTION 2. Special meetings of the Board may be called by the Executive Committee at such place as the Committee shall determine, by notice served personally upon or mailed to the usual address of each Trustee, twenty days prior to the meeting, as the names and addresses of such Trustees appear upon the books of the association.

A special meeting of the Board on the second Friday of November in each year shall be called and held in accordance with the provisions of this section, for the transaction of such business as the Board shall determine upon, including any special appropriations that may be found necessary.[2]

[1] As amended December 12, 1912.
[2] As amended April 18, 1913.

SECTION 3. Special meetings shall be called by the president in the same manner upon the written request of seven members of the Board.

SECTION 4. A majority of the Trustees shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION 5. The order of business at the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees shall be as follows:

1. Calling the roll.
2. Reading of the notice of the meeting.
3. Reading of the minutes of the last annual or special meeting.
4. Reports of officers.
5. Reports of committees.
6. Election of officers and Trustees.
7. Miscellaneous business.

ARTICLE III

OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the association shall be a president and a vice president, who shall be elected from the members of the Board by ballot annually. There shall also be a secretary elected from the members of the Board, who shall serve during the pleasure of the Board, and a treasurer, who may or may not be a member of the Board, who shall be elected by the Board and serve during the pleasure of the Board.

ARTICLE IV

THE PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. The president shall be the presiding officer of the association and chairman, *ex officio*, of the Executive Committee. He shall preside at all meetings of the Board or the Executive Committee, and exercise the usual duties of a presiding officer. He shall have general supervision of all matters of administration and of all the affairs of the association.

SECTION 2. In the absence or disability of the president, his duties shall be performed by the vice president.

ARTICLE V

THE SECRETARY

SECTION 1. The secretary shall be the chief administrative officer of the association and, subject to the authority of the Board and the Executive Committee, shall have immediate charge of the administration of its affairs and of the work undertaken by it or with its funds. He shall devote his entire time to the work of the association. He shall prepare and submit to the Board of Trustees and to the Executive Committee plans, suggestions and recommendations for the work of the association, shall carry on its correspondence, and generally supervise the work of the association. He shall sign and execute all instruments in the name of the association when authorized to do so by the Board of

Trustees or by the Executive Committee or the Finance Committee. He shall countersign all cheques, orders, bills or drafts for the payment of money, and shall perform the usual duties of a secretary and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Board or the Executive Committee.

SECTION 2. He shall be the legal custodian of all property of the association whose custody is not otherwise provided for. He shall submit to the Board of Trustees, at least thirty days before its annual meeting, a written report of the operations and business of the association for the preceding fiscal year, with such recommendations as he shall approve.

SECTION 3. He shall act, *ex officio*, as secretary of the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Committee, and shall have custody of the seal and affix the same when directed so to do by the Board, the Executive Committee or the Finance Committee.

SECTION 4. An assistant secretary may be appointed by the Executive Committee to perform the duties or exercise the powers of the secretary, or some part thereof.

ARTICLE VI

THE TREASURER

SECTION 1. The treasurer shall have the care and custody of all funds and property of the association as distinguished from the permanent invested funds and securities, and shall deposit the same in such bank, trust company or depository as the Board of Trustees or the Executive Committee shall designate, and shall, subject to the direction of the Board or the Executive Committee, disburse and dispose of the same, and shall perform the usual duties incident to the office of treasurer. He shall report to each meeting of the Executive Committee. He shall keep proper books of account of all moneys or disposition of property received and paid out on account of the association, and shall exhibit the same when required by the Executive Committee, the Finance Committee or any officer of the association. He shall submit a report of the accounts and financial condition of the association, and of all moneys received or expended by him, at each annual meeting of the association. He may be required to give a bond for the faithful discharge of his duties, in such sum as the Executive Committee may require.

SECTION 2. An assistant treasurer may be appointed by the Executive Committee to perform the duties and exercise the powers, or some part thereof, of the treasurer. Such assistant treasurer may be either an individual or a corporation, who may in like manner be required to furnish a bond.

ARTICLE VII

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. There shall be an Executive Committee, consisting of the president, the secretary, and five other Trustees elected by the Board by ballot for a

term of three years who shall be eligible for reelection. The members first elected shall determine their respective terms by lot, two to serve three years, two to serve two years and one a single year. A member elected to fill a vacancy shall serve for the remainder of the term.

SECTION 2. The Executive Committee shall, subject to the authority of the Board, and when the Board is not in session, exercise all the powers of the Board in the management, direction and supervision of the business and the conduct of the affairs of the association. It may appoint advisory committees, or agents, with such powers and duties as it shall approve, and shall fix salaries of officers, agents and employes.

SECTION 3. The Executive Committee shall direct the manner in which the books and accounts of the association shall be kept, and shall cause to be examined from time to time the accounts and vouchers of the treasurer for moneys received and paid out by him. Such committee shall submit a written report to the Board at each meeting of the Board, and shall submit an annual report to the annual meeting of the Board.

SECTION 4. Whenever any vacancy shall occur in the Executive Committee or in the office of secretary or treasurer, or in any other office of the association by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy shall be filled by appointment by the Executive Committee until the next annual meeting of the Board of Trustees.

SECTION 5. A majority of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VIII

FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Finance Committee shall consist of three Trustees to be elected by the Trustees by ballot annually.

SECTION 2. The Finance Committee shall have custody of the permanent invested funds and securities of the association and general charge of its investments, and shall care for, invest and dispose of the same subject to the directions of the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Committee. It shall consider and recommend to the Board from time to time such measures as in its opinion will promote the financial interests of the association, and shall make a report at each annual meeting of the Board.

Pending incorporation the title to the permanent invested funds and securities of the association, as well as the custody thereof, shall be vested in the Finance Committee in trust for the association.

ARTICLE IX

TERMS OF OFFICE

The terms of office of all officers and of all members of committees shall continue until their successors in each case are appointed.

ARTICLE X

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

SECTION 1. The fiscal year of the association shall commence on the first day of July in each year.

SECTION 2. The Executive Committee, at least one month prior to the annual meeting in each year, shall cause the accounts of the association to be audited by a skilled accountant, to be appointed by the president, and shall submit to the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees a full statement of the finances and work of the association, and shall mail to each member of the Board of Trustees a detailed estimate of expenses and requirements for appropriation for the ensuing fiscal year, thirty days before the annual meeting.

SECTION 3. The Board of Trustees at the annual meeting in each year shall make general appropriations for the ensuing fiscal year, and may make special appropriations from time to time.

SECTION 4. The securities of the association and other evidences of property shall be deposited under such safeguards as the Trustees or the Executive Committee shall designate; and the moneys of the association shall be deposited in such banks or depositories as may from time to time be designated by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE XI

These by-laws may be amended at any annual or special meeting of the Board of Trustees by a majority vote of the members present, provided written notice of the proposed amendment shall be personally served upon, or mailed to the usual address of, each member of the Board at least twenty days prior to such meeting.

ARTICLE XII

The Executive Committee is hereby empowered to accept, on behalf of the association, a charter of the tenor and form reported by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives to the House on the third day of February, 1911 [H. R. 32084, "To incorporate the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace"], and laid before the Trustees of this association on the ninth day of March, 1911, with such alterations and amendments thereto as may be imposed by Congress and are not, in the judgment of the Executive Committee, inconsistent with the effective prosecution of the purposes of the association.

Upon the granting of such charter the property and business of the association shall be transferred to the corporation so formed and a meeting of the Trustees shall be called for the purpose of regulating and directing the further conduct of the business by the corporation.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

To the Board of Trustees of the
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace:

In compliance with Article VII, Section 3, of the By-Laws, the Executive Committee submits the following report covering the period since the last annual meeting of the Board:

The Committee held meetings on May 12 and October 24, 1919, and January 6 and February 28, 1920. The actions and resolutions of the Committee taken and adopted at these meetings are shown in the minutes, which have been mailed regularly to each member of the Board by the Secretary. The Trustees have also regularly been sent the Treasurer's Reports presented to each meeting of the Committee in accordance with Article VI, Section 1, of the By-Laws.

In compliance with Article X, Section 2, of the By-Laws, the Executive Committee has had the accounts of the Endowment audited by certified public accountants, whose report will be submitted to the Board at its annual meeting. In further compliance with the provisions of the said section, full reports of the finances and work of the Endowment, together with a detailed estimate of requirements for appropriation for the ensuing year, have been forwarded to each member of the Board.

It is the sad duty of the Committee to make formal announcement of the death of the founder of the Endowment. Mr. Carnegie died at his summer home at Lenox, Mass., on August 11, 1919, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The Committee is also called upon to announce to the Board the deaths of two Trustees since the last meeting. Mr. Robert Bacon passed away in New York City on May 29, 1919, in his fifty-ninth year; and Mr. Jacob G. Schmidlapp died suddenly in New York on December 18, 1919, in his seventy-first year. Memorials in commemoration of these honored colleagues will be presented to the Trustees at the annual meeting.

Besides the two vacancies in the Board caused by death, the Trustees will be called upon to fill three additional vacancies due to the resignations of Mr. Charles W. Eliot, Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge and Mr. Samuel Mather.

A list of the persons nominated to fill the vacancies in the Board has been sent to the Trustees by the Secretary in accordance with Article I, Section 2, of the By-Laws.

The Board will be called upon to elect in regular course the President, Vice President, Finance Committee, and to fill two vacancies in the Executive Committee arising because of the expiration of the terms of Messrs. Butler and Fox.

Detailed information regarding the activities of the Endowment during the preceding year, carried on pursuant to the appropriations of the Board and the allotments of the Executive Committee, is contained in the Reports of the Secretary and the Directors of Divisions already transmitted to the Trustees. Attention will here be directed to the more important developments in the respective offices of the Endowment.

Reconstruction of Devastated Europe

The expenditure of the appropriation of $550,000 to aid in the reconstruction of the devastated portions of Belgium, France, Russia, Serbia and the Near East has received the careful consideration of the Committee upon information supplied by the Acting Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education. The first allotment of funds for this purpose was made on October 24, 1919, when the Committee authorized a contribution of $100,000 toward the restoration of the University of Louvain. After having considered a number of suggestions regarding the use of the portion of the appropriation intended for Serbia, the Committee, on February 28, 1920, decided to allot the sum of $100,000 to rebuild and equip the Library of the University of Belgrade. The consideration of the use of the fund in the other countries mentioned in the appropriation has not yet reached such a stage as to enable the Committee to come to definite conclusions. These two allotments, amounting to $200,000, leave $350,000 still to be allotted.

Concerning the provision for funds to meet these appropriations, the Trustees will recall that at the date of their last meeting there had been set aside in a special reserve fund $253,000 invested in United States Liberty Bonds. On January 6, 1920, the Committee decided to add to this reserve fund the amount of unallotted balances of appropriations and unexpended balances of allotments for the fiscal year 1918 which, under the fiscal policy of the Endowment, were no longer available for expenditure for the purpose for which they were appropriated and allotted. This action resulted in the addition of $176,088.59 which, added to the Liberty Bonds and the accumulations of interest, make the total reserve fund to meet these appropriations at the present time $450,384.99, leaving a balance of $99,615.01 to be provided for in the future.

Loan to China

The Committee has been called upon to act in an important matter not contemplated at the date of the last Board meeting. This was a request from the Chinese Educational Mission at Washington for an advance of funds to assist in the maintenance of Chinese provincial students in the United States. About one hundred of these students had been sent by the provinces of China to be educated in the United States as a part of a regular educational program, but the civil war which has existed for some time between the northern and southern provinces of China has made remittances for the upkeep of the students very irregular and in some cases they have been stopped altogether. The request of

the Educational Mission was supported by the Chinese Government through the American Minister at Peking and the State Department at Washington. The Executive Committee, after careful investigation and consideration, decided that such an advance would be a proper use of the Endowment's funds, and on January 6, 1920, the Committee approved a loan of $70,000, without interest, for a period of one year. The loan is payable in monthly instalments beginning February 1 and ending August 1. The instalments due in the present fiscal year, amounting to $60,000, have been provided from the emergency appropriation and certain unused balances of allotments and appropriations which have been transferred for this purpose. The balance of the loan, amounting to $10,000, due in the ensuing fiscal year, will be allotted from the emergency appropriation for that year.

League of Nations

Early last summer, a few days after the President submitted to the Senate the Treaty of Peace with Germany, an inquiry was addressed to the Endowment, under date of July 15, 1919, from the Republican Publicity Association, requesting a statement as to whether the Endowment favored the Covenant of the League of Nations. The following reply was sent under date of July 23, 1919, by direction of the President of the Endowment:

> The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has taken no part in the controversy relating to the pending Treaty of Peace with Germany, and it has not contributed toward the financial support of the League to Enforce Peace, or any other organization taking part in the controversy. On the 19th of April, 1917, the Board of Trustees adopted the following resolution:
>
> > *Resolved*, That the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace offers to the government the services of its Division of International Law, its personnel and equipment, for dealing with the pressure of international business incident to the war.
>
> That offer was accepted, and since that time practically the entire personnel and plant of the Division of International Law have been employed in assisting the government under the direction of the Department of State. The Secretary of the Endowment, Dr. Scott, who is the head of the Division of International Law, is in Paris with some of his assistants as technical adviser of the Peace Commission upon international law.
>
> Many of the Trustees of the institution have publicly expressed their opinions upon the pending treaty, but their opinions differ widely, and no one of them has sought to enforce his views upon his co-Trustees by asking for action on the part of the Board, and the Board has taken no action.

This reply received the approval of the Executive Committee at its meeting on October 24, 1919.

Semi-Annual Meeting

When the time came last fall for the Executive Committee to consider the holding of the semi-annual meeting of the Trustees, the Committee was con-

fronted with practically the same situation that has existed for the last several years, namely, such a condition in international affairs as to make a meeting of the Trustees seem untimely. The situation was accentuated this year by the uncertainty of the ultimate disposition of the Treaty of Peace with Germany then pending in the Senate. Under all the circumstances, the Executive Committee came to the conclusion that it would probably be desirable that the Trustees should meet promptly after the decision had been reached upon the disposition of the Treaty and that it was plainly wise that the semi-annual meeting of the Trustees should be postponed until such time. A resolution to this effect was adopted by the Committee and communicated to the Trustees by the Acting Secretary for their information and approval. Replies favorable to the postponment were received from sixteen Trustees, no replies objecting to the postponment were received, and eight Trustees failed to answer.

Economic History of the War

Definite steps have been taken toward the realization of the Economic History of the War, which has been the subject of consideration by the Trustees and the Executive Committee for several years past. On January 13, 1919, the Committee authorized the appointment of Professor James T. Shotwell as editor of the history. The Director of the Division of Economics and History called a conference of the Committee of Research in Paris in September last, at which Professor Shotwell was present, to map out a program for the preparation of the history. Subsequently the editor has visited Great Britain and selected an editorial board of six members under whose supervision a corps of collaborators and assistants will undertake the preparation of the history in that country. Arrangements will later be made for extending the organization to other countries.

In the meantime the preliminary economic studies of the war, which have been in progress for several years under the direction of Dr. David Kinley, now Acting President of the University of Illinios, are nearing completion. They have proved of general interest and large editions have been distributed. The monograph by Professor Bogart upon the subject of *Direct and Indirect Costs of the World War* has been in particularly large demand and has received general notice and commendation. For the present status of this important series, the Trustees are referred to the Secretary's Report.

International Law Work

The members of the Division of International Law who were attached to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at Paris all returned to their duties with the Endowment during the last year.

The special work which was being carried on for the Department of State in the Division of International Law, pursuant to the offer by the Trustees of the services of that Division to the Government in 1917, was completed on June 30

last. The Division has since been largely occupied in finishing the many large and important projects which it has on hand. The report of the Director, which gives the status of each of these projects, shows that during the coming year most, if not all, of them will be brought to completion.

Annuities and Increased Salaries

In the matter of administration, the Executive Committee has acted upon two matters given in detail in the Secretary's Report. At the invitation of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and following the example of other Carnegie organizations, the Committee has decided to recommend to the Board that the Endowment participate in the contributory plan for annuities for its officers and employes. The second administrative matter is the further increase in salaries of employes which the Committee put into effect on January 1, 1920, and recommends to the Trustees for the ensuing year. The only general action of this kind that had previously been taken was on July 1, 1917, when a flat increase of ten per cent was granted. It is needless to point out that in view of the increase in the cost of living, ranging from eighty to one hundred per cent in different localities, some further assistance to the Endowment's employes was needed.

The Committee will present to the Board of Trustees resolutions drafted in form appropriate to give effect to the conclusions of the Committee so far as they shall be approved by the Board.

Respectfully submitted,

ELIHU ROOT, *Chairman*,
JAMES BROWN SCOTT, *Secretary*,
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
AUSTEN G. FOX,
ANDREW J. MONTAGUE,
HENRY S. PRITCHETT,
CHARLEMAGNE TOWER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 16, 1920*.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

To the Board of Trustees of the
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace:

In compliance with Article V, Section 2, of the By-Laws, the Secretary submits the following report of the operations and business of the Endowment for the year which has elapsed since the last annual report was submitted:

During the larger part of that period the Secretary, pursuant to the leave of absence granted by the Executive Committee and duly reported to the Trustees, was in attendance upon the Peace Conference at Paris, acting as a technical adviser in international law to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. He completed his detail at Paris on December 9, 1919, returned to the United States and resumed his official duties with the Endowment on December 23, 1919. The other members of the Endowment's staff who also went to Paris with the Secretary to serve the American Peace Commission under leave granted by the Executive Committee had previously returned and resumed their duties with the Endowment on the following dates: Mr. George A. Finch, Assistant to the Secretary, April 5, 1919; Mr. George D. Gregory and Professor Amos S. Hershey, of the Division of International Law, on June 16, 1919; and Mr. Henry G. Crocker, Chief Law Clerk, on October 22, 1919.

In the absence of the Secretary, the duties of the office were performed by Mr. S. N. D. North, Assistant Secretary and Statistician, who acted as Secretary, assisted by Mr. George A. Finch, Assistant to the Secretary, after his return from Paris.

The routine work of the Secretary's Office has been about the same as described in previous reports and, although the character of the work has become more or less fixed, the quantity is steadily increasing with the progress of the work in the three Divisions, whose activities, in so far as they may be interrelated, are coordinated through the central supervision of this office. This is especially so in the matter of printing and the distribution of publications, to be referred to hereafter.

The Secretary's Office, as usual, arranged for the last annual meeting of the Board and prepared the business for four meetings of the Executive Committee which have since been held. The minutes of these meetings have been prepared in this office and distributed to the Trustees in printed form. All bills and vouchers for the Endowment's disbursements have been received in the office, properly audited, and the checks and drafts in payment drawn for the signature of the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary. Books of account have been

kept, and these have been examined and found correct by certified public accountants, appointed by the President of the Board, pursuant to Article II, Section 10, of the By-Laws. Monthly reports of the Treasurer have been prepared from these books and submitted and approved by the Executive Committee at its meetings. Disbursements were made during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, amounting to $461,051.82, divided according to general purposes as follows:

Administration and sundry purposes	$93,162.72
Division of Intercourse and Education	206,189.38
Division of Economics and History	56,716.05
Division of International Law	104,983.67
	$461,051.82

The disbursements for the first six months of the present fiscal year, namely, from July 1 to December 31, 1919, amounted to $218,513.14 classified as follows:

Administration and sundry purposes	$43,756 97
Division of Intercourse and Education	86,252.14
Division of Economics and History	32,830.84
Division of International Law	55,673 19
	$218,513.14

The allotments of these disbursements to specified purposes are given in the minutes of the Executive Committee and in the Treasurer's Reports. The latter give further details of expenditure under the several allotments.

For ready reference, there are appended hereto tabular statements showing the total disbursements since the organization of the Endowment, classified according to the general heads under which the activities of the Endowment are divided.[1]

The general correspondence of the Endowment has been regularly conducted by the Secretary's Office, which has also answered requests for publications, attended to the distribution of books and pamphlets to the various mailing lists maintained in the office and supervised the printing of the several series of publications now being issued.

Publications

The books and pamphlets already published by the Endowment have grown to such numbers that the issuance of a catalogue has become necessary. The first number of this catalogue is now in the hands of the printers and it is hoped that it will be published in time for the annual meeting of the Trustees. A perusal of its pages will give a comprehensive survey of the varied lines and wide extent of the Endowment's activities in preceding years, the results of which have been preserved in permanent printed form.

[1] Appendix 1, p. 36.

The forthcoming year or eighteen months will witness very considerable additions to the list of publications. The Secretary will not here go into the details of the works in preparation or in press, as such details will more properly be given in the reports of the Directors of the Divisions in which the works originated; but a general idea of the amount of publications in progress may be gathered from the total of the allotments now on the Endowment's books to meet the cost of printing already contracted for, which is $121,619.82. This is exclusive of pamphlets and administrative publications, such as the Year Book. In addition to the publications in press, the estimates approved by the Executive Committee for the ensuing fiscal year carry an additional sum of $68,252 for the publication of manuscripts in hand.

The responsibility of seeing that these large printing funds are properly expended devolves upon the Secretary. He obtains in advance estimates of the cost of each publication and decides all matters of form, style, etc. In the interests of economy, all manuscripts must be properly prepared and edited before being sent to the printers, and thereafter the proofs must be read in the office through various stages to insure the accuracy of the completed publications. This tedious and exacting task the Secretary's Office is not called upon to perform in so far as the publications of the Division of International Law are concerned because that office being under the same administrative head, it has become possible to attach to it a trained editorial staff to look after such details. With respect to all other publications, however, the Secretary's Office is called upon to assume the full burden of detailed responsibility.

Besides these functions connected with the printing of the Endowment's publications, the Secretary, because of his responsibility for the proper expenditure of the printing funds, audits all printing bills, sees that the itemized charges are in accordance with the estimates and otherwise proper, and that they are in accordance with the authorizations and allotments made by the Executive Committee. From the number of publications issued and the size of the amounts provided for their printing, it will readily be seen that the Secretary's duties in connection with this phase of the Endowment's work consume the greater part of the time of his official and clerical force.

Preliminary Economic Studies of the War

The largest single series of publications issued by the Endowment during the preceding year are the Preliminary Economic Studies of the War. As indicated by the name of the series, these monographs are studies of a preliminary nature, intended to precede the more elaborate and permanent economic history of the war, planned by the Division of Economics and History. The arrangements for the preliminary studies were made by Dr. David Kinley, Acting President of the University of Illinois, American member of the Committee of Research of the Division of Economics and History. He has selected the topics and collaborators, examined the manuscripts, prepared prefaces to them and

passed them on to the Secretary for publication. From that point on, all details of publication have been handled in the Secretary's Office. At the time of the last report seven numbers in the series had been published as follows:

Early Economic Effects of the War upon Canada, by Adam Shortt.
Early Effects of the European War upon the Finance, Commerce and Industry of Chile, by L. S. Rowe.
Economic Effects of the War upon Women and Children in Great Britain, by Irene Osgood Andrews.
Direct Costs of the Present War, by Ernest L. Bogart.
Effects of the War upon Insurance, with Special Reference to the Substitution of Insurance for Pensions, by William F. Gephart.
The Financial History of Great Britain, 1914–1918, by Frank L. McVey.
War Administration of the Railways in the United States and Great Britain, by Frank H. Dixon and Julius H. Parmelee.

Since that time the following additional monographs have been published:

British War Administration, by John A. Fairlie.
Influence of the Great War upon Shipping, by J. Russell Smith.
War Thrift, by Thomas Nixon Carver.
Effects of the Great War upon Agriculture in the United States and Great Britain, by Benjamin H. Hibbard.
Disabled Soldiers and Sailors—Pensions and Training, by Edward T. Devine.
Government Control of the Liquor Business in Great Britain and the United States, by Thomas Nixon Carver.
British Labor Conditions and Legislation during the War, by Matthew B. Hammond.
Effects of the War upon Money, Credit and Banking in France and the United States, by B. M. Anderson, Jr.
Second (revised) edition of War Administration of the Railways in the United States and Great Britain, by Frank H. Dixon and Julius H. Parmelee.
Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War, by Ernest L. Bogart (2 editions).
Negro Migration during the War, by Emmett J. Scott.
Early Effects of the War upon the Finance, Commerce and Industry of Peru, by L. S. Rowe.
Prices and Price Control in Great Britain and the United States, by Simon Litman.
Government War Contracts, by John F. Crowell.

Three additional monographs are now in press, namely:

The Germans in South America, by C. H. Haring.
Government Control and Operation of Industry in Great Britain and the United States, by Charles Whiting Baker.
Revised study on Economic Effects of the War upon Women and Children in Great Britain, by Irene Osgood Andrews.

There remain but three additional manuscripts to be received to complete the series, as follows:

Effects of the War on Pauperism, Crime and Programs of Social Welfare, by Edith Abbott.

Monetary Conditions in War Times in India, Mexico and the Philippines, by E. W. Kemmerer.
The Cooperative Movement in Russia, by E. M. Kayden.

Three thousand copies of each of the monographs have been printed, two thousand paper bound copies for gratuitous distribution upon application, and one thousand cloth bound copies to supply depository libraries and for sale by the Endowment's publishers at $1.00. There has been a gratifying demand for these important contributions, and it has been necessary to authorize second editions of *War Administration of Railways*, *The Economic Effects of the War upon Women and Children*, and *Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War*.

Administrative Publications

Under this heading the Secretary's Office has published the Year Book for 1919, containing the documents relating to the organization of the Endowment, the reports of the officers, financial statement, list of depository libraries and list of publications. Ten thousand copies of this publication were printed and distributed to the regular mailing list.

A summary of the contents of the Year Book was also prepared and issued under the title of "Epitome." This was intended for persons and institutions interested not so much in the details of the Endowment's activities as in a general outline of its work. Two editions totaling forty thousand copies of the Epitome were printed and distributed.

The Secretary regrets that, owing to the large demands upon the Endowment's funds during the ensuing year, it has been found necessary to curtail the edition of the Year Book and to discontinue entirely the publication of the Epitome.

Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie

The Secretary is glad to report that this publication, which was started several years ago and described in the Secretary's report of March 20, 1918, has been completed and issued. It was the intention from the beginning to publish this interesting volume during Mr. Carnegie's life time, but the delay in preparation and publication, due to the unusual conditions existing in the last few years, frustrated that desire, for it did not appear until after Mr. Carnegie passed away on August 11, 1919. Extraordinary as have been many of the tributes paid to the memory of the founder of the Endowment, it is believed that this Manual, prepared and published with no design of obituary eulogy, contains the most substantial and lasting memorial that could well be devised. In cold columns of figures it gives the details of his vast donations, accompanied by the actual texts of his various letters and deeds of gift describing in his own language the public purposes to which he desired his magnificent donations to be applied. These documents embody in characteristic language the ideals which governed Mr. Carnegie's life from the moment he abandoned the accumulation of money

for the purpose of considering how he could make the wisest use of his fortune for the benefit of humanity. The sum total of his public benefactions as revealed in the tabulation contained in the Manual, including his testamentary bequests, was $351,655,650. The disposal of this mass of private wealth for public purposes demonstrates that Mr. Carnegie was as good as his word when he wrote:

> This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of wealth: To set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate needs of those dependent upon him; and, after doing so, to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to provide the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere trustee and agent for his poorer brethren.

Free Distribution of Publications

The free distribution of books and pamphlets prepared in the Secretary's Office and in the three Divisions continues as in years past to be an important part of the duties of the Secretarial force. This distribution shows a steady increase in volume. During the period January 1, 1919, to March 1, 1920, there were distributed a total of 92,890 books and pamphlets. During the preceding eight years of the Endowment's existence there had been distributed a total of 403,412 books and pamphlets, making a grand total of 496,302 gratuitously distributed from the beginning up to March 1, 1920.

Special mailing lists are maintained such as for the Year Book and Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, and almost every mail brings a number of individual requests for publications. All publications are sent regularly as a matter of course to the depository libraries, which are showing an increasing interest in and appreciation of the valuable series of books and pamphlets by which the Endowment is diffusing information regarding the causes, nature and effects of war and means for its prevention and avoidance. As the work of the Endowment is becoming more generally understood and favorably received, the individual requests for publications are being greatly multiplied and many libraries are making application to be made depositories of the Endowment's publications. Each of these depository requests is carefully considered to be sure that the applicant is properly equipped and organized to act as a depository for the benefit of the public. Twenty-two such applications have been favorably acted upon since the last report. The total number of depository libraries is now 700. Following previous custom, a list of them completed up to date will be printed in the Year Book.

The Bureau of International Exchange has resumed its functions in the European countries lately at war, and the Endowment is completing the distribution of its publications to the depositories in those countries through this admirably organized and conducted service.

The handling of the receipt of this large quantity of publications from the printers, the keeping of the mailing lists, the preparation of the labels, the mailing and shipment of the publications to their destinations, and the proper handling of the correspondence connected with the distribution now requires all the time of three clerks.

Sales of Publications

Besides depositing all of its publications in geographically distributed libraries for general public use and supplying gratuitous copies of many of them to all applicants, the Endowment still maintains its publishing arrangement whereby the scientific and professional publications of a permanent character of the Division of International Law and the Division of Economics and History may be purchased in the way of trade by any interested individual who desires to possess personal copies of these more substantial works. Most of the Endowment's publications, however, naturally lack a commercial value, and the reports of sales from publishers continue to be merely nominal. The grand total of all publications sold from the organization of the Endowment up to the present time is only 8,170. In order that there may be no misunderstanding regarding the disinterested purpose of the Endowment in selling some of its publications, only as a check on wasteful distribution and to accommodate those who may not as highly regard a gift as something which is bought, the Secretary reports the following figures, showing the total cost of publications which are on sale, the total proceeds of sale and the share of the Endowment in those proceeds:

Amount paid for manuscripts	$37,710 43	Proceeds from sales	$16,585 40
Cost of manufacture	134,775 08	Publishers' and Agents' Commissions	9,037 38
Total cost	$172,485 51	Amount received by Endowment	$7,548.02

The foregoing cost figures include, of course, the proportion of the editions which are distributed gratuitously. Before the United States entered the war the editions were divided, one-half for sale and one-half for gratuitous distribution, but, later, in response to the government's request for economy in the use of paper, the size of the editions of this class of publications was cut down from 2,000 to 1,500, the reduction being apportioned to the copies reserved for sale, so that at the present time two-thirds of the editions are distributed gratuitously and one-third reserved for sale. A special arrangement was made in the case of the preliminary economic studies. As previously stated, owing to the large demand for these monographs, an original edition of 3,000 copies was published, 2,000 copies for free distribution and 1,000 for the depository libraries and for sale. In the case of publications issued in French, the size of the edition has been further reduced to 1,000, but no definite apportionment between sales and free distribution has as yet been made.

Portrait of the President of the Endowment

It is the happy duty of the Secretary to report to the Board that the Executive Committee at its meeting on January 6, 1920, appointed a committee on behalf of the Board to invite Mr. Root, the President of the Endowment, to have his portrait painted and to make the arrangements therefor, the portrait to be kept in the possession of the Endowment. It has been customary in the past to place in the Board Room of the Endowment portraits of deceased Trustees; but it is the desire of the Executive Committee that the portrait of Mr. Root shall be something more than a memento. Its purpose can be best described in the own words of the proposer, Mr. Charlemagne Tower, who, after calling attention to the fact that the Endowment has been in existence for ten years, during which time Mr. Root has been President and directed its activities, suggested that the portrait of Mr. Root be "Mr. Root in the full vigor of his life, at the height of his influence before the American people. I should like to have a portrait which, in the possession of the Endowment, should be a monument to what Mr. Root has done for this country, as well as a testimonial of the respect and esteem, I should like to say affection, which we all feel toward him who have known him and who, by a community of interest, have been brought into personal contact with him."

The special committee appointed to invite Mr. Root and make the arrangements consists of Mr. Tower, Mr. Butler and Mr. Pritchett.

Employes' Retirement Annuities

Following the example of other Carnegie organizations, the officers and Executive Committee of the Endowment have had under consideration since the last meeting of the Board the insurance and annuity plan offered by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to teachers and other persons employed by colleges, universities and other institutions engaged primarily in educational or research work. The annuities are offered by the Foundation through the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America, incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as a life insurance company, with a capital and surplus amounting to $1,000,000, provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. It is governed by a board of sixteen trustees, and it is the intention as soon as there is a considerable body of policyholders to provide for their participation in the election of trustees.

The plan of annuities offered by the Association is based upon two fundamental principles:

(1) An old age annuity should depend upon the joint contributions of employer and employe, and each employe participating should receive an individual contract resting upon the legal reserve set aside year by year to meet it by an insurance company organized and conducting business under legal safeguards.

(2) The old age annuity is a protection against dependence in old age. Life

insurance is a protection against premature death during the productive period of life. Life insurance and annuity, therefore, mutually supplement each other and should be combined in any system of protection for salaried men.

The Executive Committee, after having the plan under advisement for nearly a year, has approved the following plan of annuities and insurance:

Briefly described, the proposed plan entitles an officer or employe who comes within the prescribed definition to take out an individual insurance and annuity contract with the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America. This Association is able to grant the insurance and annuity at a cost which excludes all overhead charges, by reason of the fact that its capital and surplus have been provided by the Carnegie Corporation. If the application is approved by the Executive Committee of the Endowment and the contract agreed to by the Association, the premiums are paid half and half by the employe and by the Endowment up to five per cent of the employe's annual salary, with the further limitation that the Endowment shall not pay in excess of $250 per annum upon any insurance and annuity policy. The latter restriction automatically limits the benefits of the annuity plan to those who receive an annual salary of $5,000 or less, and to the extent of $5,000 for those who receive a larger salary.

As above stated, the contract is a private one between the employe and the Association, and the Endowment's obligation is limited to the deduction of the monthly premium instalments from the employe's salary and its transmission, together with a similar amount from the Endowment, to the Annuity Association, to be applied on account of the policy. The employe may purchase an annuity calling for a premium larger than five per cent of his salary, but the Endowment will not meet such payments in excess of five per cent of the annual salary.

The policies will be ordinarily drawn so that the first payment on the annuity will begin at the age of sixty-five. Participation in the annuity plan for a period of thirty years will provide an old age annuity equivalent to half pay. Should the annuitant die before the annuities begin to run, all payments made by him and by the Endowment on his behalf, together with compound interest at four per cent, will be paid to his estate. Should the employe at the time of retirement desire to change the plan of payment to meet his particular situation at that time, the contract contains a number of options applicable to various conditions. Furthermore, should the employe desire to change the date of his retirement either before or after the age of sixty-five, the contract gives him such an option. All options, of course, vary the rate to be paid to the annuitant, taking into consideration his special circumstances at the time the option is exercised.

Should an employe, after acquiring an annuity contract, leave the service of the Endowment, he will not forfeit what has been paid by him and on his account, as he will remain the owner of his policy, and be entitled to the full benefit of contributions already made. If he enters the service of another institution entitled to participate in the annuity plan, he may continue his contract with the cooperation of that institution, but if he leaves educational work entirely, he may

continue payments on the contract at a slightly increased cost equal to overhead charges on his policy. When an employe leaves the service of the Endowment, the obligation of the Endowment to contribute to his contract will automatically terminate.

As stated in Article II of the plan approved by the Executive Committee, participation in the annuity is limited to those officers and employes who are specifically provided for by title and salary in the annual budget and who have performed two years of satisfactory service before their application. The definition thus excludes all employes whose salaries are paid from lump sums and those who have not had sufficient service with the Endowment to determine the permanency of their employment.

Increase in Salaries

The only notice that the Endowment had taken up to January 1 of the present year of the great increase in the cost of living was the ten per cent emergency increase granted on July 1, 1917. Since that time reliable statistics show that the prices of the necessaries of life have increased on an average of over eighty per cent. Other large organizations, both commercial and educational, have recognized the changed conditions by making salary increases much larger than that granted by the Endowment nearly three years ago. The Secretary brought the situation to the attention of the Executive Committee at its meeting on January 6, 1920, and the Committee promptly appointed a subcommittee to report at the next meeting recommendations regarding a further increase. This subcommittee, consisting of Mr. Montague and Mr. Scott, made a full report upon the subject to the Executive Committee on February 28, with tables showing the salaries paid during the three preceding fiscal years and recommendations for increased salaries to be paid beginning January 1, 1920. These recommendations were approved by the Executive Committee; the new salary scale is now in effect, and the Executive Committee has recommended the increased salaries in the estimates to be submitted to the Board at the annual meeting.

In recommending these salaries the Committee recognizes that prices will probably be somewhat reduced in the future, but not to the point where they were before the war. Accordingly a permanent salary scale has been adopted, providing for approximately the full salary now received, including the ten per cent emergency increase. To enable the employes to meet in some measure the present high prices, the Committee further recommends the continuance of an emergency increase of ten per cent based upon the new salary scale.

Owing to special circumstances in individual cases which arose in the abnormal period of employment during the war, it has been necessary to rectify in some cases the permanent basic salaries either by a slight increase of salary in addition to the general increase or by withholding any increase whatever.

Requirements for Appropriation

The statement of requirements for appropriation for the ensuing fiscal year accompanies this report in a separate print.[1]

Reports of the Divisions

The Secretary transmits with this report, also in separate printed form, the annual reports of the Directors of the Divisions of Intercourse and Education, Economics and History and International Law.[2]

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES BROWN SCOTT,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 17, 1920.*

CORRECTION

In the Year Book for 1919, page 59, in a quotation from a correspondent, the fear was expressed that the International Peace Bureau at Berne had lost touch with its affiliated societies during the war, and that its ability to take up peace work after the war had been impaired. According to a letter received under date of September 22, 1920, from the International Peace Bureau at Berne, this fear appears to have been unfounded. On the contrary, it is stated that the Bureau has been "during the whole war in direct and continued relation with the societies belonging to the International Union of Peace Societies," that the council of the Bureau held a meeting at Berne in January, 1915, and that after the war was over the *Comité Directeur* met at Paris in April, 1919, and took steps which allowed the council to meet *in plenum* at Berne in September, 1919. It is further stated that the delegates of the societies belonging to the Union met at Bale on May 23–24, 1920.

The Secretary is glad to publish this correction.

[1] *Infra*, p. 155.
[2] *Infra*, pp. 39, 65, 83.

APPENDIX

CLASSIFIED STATEMENT OF DISBURSEMENTS FROM ORGANIZATION TO DECEMBER 31, 1919

ADMINISTRATION AND SUNDRY PURPOSES

Fiscal Year	Salaries and expenses	Maintenance of headquarters, including purchases and repairs	Library	Publications	Miscellaneous	Total
1911.	$28,535 48	$2,428 61	$972 07		$500 00	$32,436 16
1912	18,753 45	2,268 47	1,496 32	$3,115 75		25,633 99
1913	36,523 10	5,633 04	2,648 71	6,580 68	. .	51,385 53
1914	38,304 84	13,233 09	2,461 90	380 50	982 85	55,363.18
1915	40,908 88	4,258 93	5,900 83	6,670 73	18,442 91	76,182 28
1916. .	38,498 51	3,976 73	5,606 77	8,183 53	178 72	56,444 26
1917	38,184 53	7,702 13	5,570 18	8,695 47	665 34	60,817 65
1918	42,888 68	12,336.84	5,273 25	7,711 96	1,401 01	69,611 74
1919	52,099 96	8,185 55	8,648 28	9,580 24	14,648 69	93,162 72
1920 (1st Half)	23,672 47	3,422 07	5,999 93	9,369.39	1,293 11	43,756 97
Totals .	$358,369 90	$63,445 46	$44,578 24	$60,288 25	$38,112 63	$564,794 48

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

Fiscal Year	Salaries and expenses, including foreign organization	Subventions to societies and periodicals	International visits	Publications	Educational propaganda	Total
1911. .	$1,622 16	$41,000 00	$14,100 00		$10,258 89	$66,981 05
1912 ..	16,945 91	59,015 49	464 16	. .	69,049 75	145,475 31
1913 .	24,200.08	108,326 42	19,575 79	. .	68,080 50	220,182 79
1914. . .	26,084 80	121,358 62	36,490 27	$8,103 32	61,677 68	253,714 69
1915. ..	31,010 33	99,814 96	24,048 93	11,027 13	88,447.11	254,348 46
1916	31,605 86	79,826 85	10,297 83	8,557 70	170,895 06	301,183 30
1917.	24,452 62	108,461 16	16,900 88	829 53	79,479 19	230,123 38
1918	18,740 51	73,545 56	57,667 81	1,442 56	89,674 66	241,071 10
1919 .	21,320.48	75,680 84	53,949 37	4,662 42	50,576 27	206,189 38
1920 (1st Half)	15,370 63	28,493 49	19,369 95	2,110 73	20,907 34	86,252 14
Totals	$211,353 38	$795,523 39	$252,864 99	$36,733 39	$709,046.45	$2,005,521.60

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

Fiscal Year	Salaries and expenses	Honoraria and expenses of Committee of Research	Research work	Publications	Special work	Total
1911	$3,365.09	$9,296 69				$12,661.78
1912	4,950.55	13,515 65				18,466.20
1913	8,127 99	18,575 00	$17,746.89			44,449.88
1914	8,453 84	27,314 81	33,666 36	$1,240 18	$389 40	71,064 59
1915	11,438 80	15,155.43	16,565 58	4,686 01		47,845.82
1916	11,233.33	17,158 33	19,987 33	2,573.75	31,298 33	82,251.07
1917	9,604 65	17,000 00	8,034 79	5,412.23	404 88	40,456.55
1918	9,278 00	10,500.00	23,159 65	9,946 69		52,884.34
1919	9,249 04	7,500 00	34,186.61	4,931.52	848 88	56,716.05
1920 (1st Half)	8,861 97	3,566 67	11,272 33	6,720.66	2,409 21	32,830.84
Totals	$84,563 26	$139,582 58	$164,619 54	$35,511 04	$35,350 70	$459,627.12

DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Fiscal Year	Salaries and expenses	Aid to societies, books and periodicals	Research work	Publications	Special work	Total
1911	$1,972 53					$1,972 53
1912	3,135.00	$3,084.71	$1,625 00			7,844 71
1913	10,586 81	33,023 71	5,419 78		$1,031 06	50,061 36
1914	13,450.66	42,376 22	6,980 23	$5,522 95	14,578 97	82,909 03
1915	10,688 19	22,789 30	9,584 09	12,578.29	7,796 95	63,436.82
1916	13,857 62	27,391 45	13,175 00	8,973 93	47,318 90	110,716 90
1917	11,215 57	37,277 24	6,423 01	72,523 05	16,086 12	143,524 99
1918	13,011 63	23,176 81	5,904 43	23,249 48	20,235 35	85,577 70
1919	12,642.64	13,628 26	5,323 36	34,228.45	39,160 96	104,983 67
1920 (1st Half)	6,485.57	5,553 94	2,108 00	19,899 70	21,625 98	55,673 19
Totals	$97,046 22	$208,301 64	$56,542 90	$176,975 85	$167,834 29	$706,700 90

PURCHASE OF HEADQUARTERS BUILDINGS AND SITES

No. 2 Jackson Place	$90,000.00
No. 4 Jackson Place	47,000.00
No. 6 Jackson Place	47,000.00
Total	$184,000.00

RECAPITULATION

TABLE SHOWING EXPENDITURES BY FISCAL YEARS AND DIVISIONS

Fiscal Year	Administration and Sundry purposes	Division of Intercourse and Education	Division of Economics and History	Division of International Law	Purchase of buildings and sites	Total
1911	$32,436.16	$66,981 05	$12,661.78	$1,972.53		$114,051.52
1912	25,633 99	145,475.31	18,466.20	7,844.71		197,420 21
1913	51,385 53	220,182.79	44,449.88	50,061 36	$54,475 00	420,554 56
1914	55,363.18	253,714.69	71,064.59	82,909.03	82,525.00	545,576 49
1915	76,182.28	254,348.46	47,845 82	63,436.82		441,813 38
1916	56,444.26	301,183.30	82,251.07	110,716 90		550,595 53
1917	60,817 65	230,123 38	40,456.55	143,524 99	47,000 00	521,922.57
1918	69,611.74	241,071.10	52,884.34	85,577.70		449,144 88
1919	93,162.72	206,189.38	56,716 05	104,983.67		461,051 82
1920 (1st Half)	43,756.97	86,252.14	32,830 84	55,673 19		218,513 14
Totals	$564,794.48	$2,005,521 60	$459,627 12	$706,700 90	$184,000 00	$3,920,644 10

TABLE SHOWING EXPENDITURES BY DIVISIONS AND GENERAL SUBJECTS

	Salaries and expenses	Subventions	Library and research work	Publications	Educational propaganda and miscellaneous activities	Total
Administration and Sundry Purposes	$421,815 36		$44,578.24	$60,288.25	$38,112.63	$564,794.48
Division of Intercourse and Education	211,353.38	$795,523.39		36,733.39	961,911.44	2,005,521 60
Division of Economics and History	84,563.26		304,202 12	35,511.04	35,350 70	459,627.12
Division of International Law	97,046 22	208,301 64	56,542 90	176,975 85	167,834 29	706,700 90
Totals	$814,778.22	$1,003,825 03	$405,323 26	$309,508.53	$1,203,209.06	$3,736,644.10
Purchase of headquarters, buildings and sites						184,000.00
Total						$3,920,644 10

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

REPORT OF THE ACTING DIRECTOR

*

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

REPORT OF THE ACTING DIRECTOR

To the Executive Committee:

As the year has been one in which there were many uncertainties due to the formulation and discussion of the peace treaty and long consideration of it by the Senate of the United States, the work of the Division of Intercourse and Education during the period under review has been held strictly to the lines consistently followed since the outbreak of the war. Through existing agencies and through the Institute of International Education, recently established and described in full in this report, the bonds of international sympathy and mutual understanding have been fostered and strengthened in such ways as seemed possible and an earnest endeavor has been made to guide and direct public opinion by laying bare the facts concerning the forces that are at work among men and nations and the ways in which these forces can be guided constructively by good will and international understanding.

Appropriation for Reconstruction After the War

The resolution making an appropriation of funds for reconstruction work after the war, passed at the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of April 20, 1917, and amended at the meeting of the Board of Trustees of December 16, 1918, reads as follows:

> *Resolved*, That, as an act of sympathy with the suffering which has fallen upon innocent and helpless noncombatants in the existing war, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated as a separate fund, to be expended by the Executive Committee as speedily as may be, to aid in the reconstruction of the devastated portions of France, Belgium, Serbia or Russia.
>
> *Resolved further*, That the sum of fifty thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated to be expended by the Executive Committee for the relief of the oppressed nationalities in the Near East formerly under Ottoman control.

The Division of Intercourse and Education was entrusted by the Executive Committee with the task of presenting for approval recommendations for the expenditure of the funds thus appropriated. The Acting Director, after consultation with high Belgian personages who have visited the United States and after careful consideration of the needs of Belgium, became convinced that no more appropriate expenditure of that portion of the fund to be allotted for Belgium

could be made than to apply it to the fund which is being raised for the erection and equipment of a new library building for the University of Louvain to replace the building wantonly destroyed by the invading German army. Accordingly at the meeting of October 24, 1919, the Executive Committee passed the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, allotted from the appropriation for the reconstruction of the devastated portions of France, Belgium, Serbia, Russia and the Near East, as a contribution toward the fund of $500,000 sought by the National Committee of the United States for the Restoration of the University of Louvain, to be paid at such time as may be deemed appropriate by the Acting Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education.

Final decision has yet to be made regarding the funds to be expended in France, Russia, Serbia, and the Near East.

For France, suggestion has been made that the reconstruction of the library at Rheims destroyed by bombardment should be undertaken. Through the European Bureau inquiries have been addressed to the proper authorities as to the wishes of the French Government in the matter.

For Serbia, the Acting Director has been advised by the Minister of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes that the Serbian Government warmly approved of the project to construct and equip a modern library building for the University at Belgrade, and that it also looked with favor upon the alternative proposal that aid be given to complete the building for the Academy of Sciences. The Acting Director has recommended that the sum of $100,000 be allotted for one of these purposes.

For Russia and for the oppressed nationalities in the Near East formerly under Ottoman control, the present unsettled conditions render it impracticable to present any definite plan for execution in the near future.

Administration of the Division

In the United States

The offices of the Division are in the building No. 407 West 117th Street, New York, for which an annual rental of $1,600 is paid. The building also contains the offices of the Division of Economics and History and those of the American Association for International Conciliation. The newly established Institute of International Education and the Inter-American Division of the American Association for International Conciliation have offices in the immediate neighborhood, thus facilitating close cooperation and proper distribution of work.

The Division is constantly in receipt of correspondence on international developments, including important confidential reports from the Special Correspondents of the Division, and this is sent in copy or translation to the Trustees of the Endowment for their information. A vast amount of after war literature in

many languages is received in the form of newspapers, pamphlets and books. This material is carefully reviewed and, where practicable, articles are translated and given to the press for publication. Thus in the *New York Times* of May 10, 1919, appeared an important article on the comparative losses of France and the United States, a study made in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Government, and in the New York *Evening Post* of June 7, 1919, appeared a translation of a significant article by Dr. Otfried Nippold in the *Freie Zeitung* of Berne, Switzerland, entitled "German Minds Still Shackled." A filing clerk is kept busy with the card files covering carefully selected and classified lists of addresses. Books and pamphlets which give valuable information on the important questions of the time are judiciously distributed among these addresses. A foreign list is also kept, to which editorials and important articles in American papers are sent. Besides the usual office detail, much time is spent in helping those who call in search of information or who come to offer suggestions and plans for the furtherance of the work. Appropriate hospitality is also extended to visitors from foreign lands and in some cases it is possible to render them practical service.

During July and August, 1919, when Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, President of the Advisory Council in Europe, visited the United States, the Divisional organization was placed at his disposal and rendered him all assistance in its power in the important mission entrusted to him by the French Government.

In the last annual report mention was made of proposed measures to provide collections of books on American history and institutions to be placed in libraries where they would be freely and fully available in the following cities: London, Paris, Rome, Zurich, Tokio, Peking. The completed collections, each of about 2,000 volumes, have been presented to the following libraries:

Library of the University of London, London
Library of the Sorbonne, Paris
Library for American Studies in Italy, Rome
Zentralbibliothek, Zurich
Hibiya Library, Tokio
Peking Public Affairs Library, Peking

It is interesting to note that since the collection of these books has been begun, a chair of American history and institutions has been established at the Sorbonne, Paris, and furthermore that Sir George Watson has made a gift of £20,000 to endow a chair of American history and institutions, to be held alternately by an Englishman and an American scholar and to be available in specific years to the principal universities of Great Britain. It is hoped that these collections of books will be fruitful in spreading accurate knowledge of American life and will be of material influence in promoting the growth of international friendship.

A few carefully selected books on international subjects have been sent to each of those libraries in which the foundation of an International Mind Alcove was made during the previous year.

In Europe

Soon after the cessation of hostilities in Europe the Secretary General and the Secretary of the European Bureau returned from their military duties to the offices at 24 rue Pierre Curie, Paris, to resume their tasks, which had been laid aside in answer to the call of their country. During the difficult years of the war the work had been admirably sustained by the devoted services of the women of the Bureau under the direction of Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. It has now been reenforced and reorganized to meet the new conditions and demands of the period of reconstruction. The entire organization of the European Bureau during the protracted discussions relative to the Peace Treaty was placed at the disposal not only of those in Paris directly connected with the Endowment but of all to whom it could be of service.

The subventions granted through the fiscal year were as follows:

To the Frédéric Passy Library	Frs. 4,000.00
To the Comité France Amérique	2,072.60
To the Union of Associations for a Society of Nations	5,175.35
To La Paix par le Droit	1,200.00
To the Society for the History of the War	1,000.00
For distribution of book, *Vers la Société des Nations*	500 00
	Frs. 13,947.95

The value of the Frédéric Passy Library, founded in 1914 and containing a valuable collection of books on international polity, has never been more apparent than during this period. While it has always been a source of helpful information for students and readers in Paris of all nationalities, it became during the Peace Conference a genuine asset to those working on the solution of the grave international problems involved. The library is now installed at 24 rue Pierre Curie, in rooms adjoining the offices of the Bureau, and, under the devoted supervision of Mlle. Amelot, formerly secretary to the distinguished Frenchman whose name it bears, will increase steadily in usefulness.

The Comité France Amérique, founded at Paris in 1909, has continued its work of promoting friendly intercourse and understanding between France and the United States, under its distinguished president, M. Gabriel Hanotaux of the Académie Française. The headquarters are at 82 Champs-Elysées. The European Bureau is in entire sympathy with the work of the Comité France Amérique, to which it granted a modest subvention during the period under review.

The Bureau has continued its cordial support of the work of the Union of Associations for a Society of Nations which has now removed from its former offices at 254 Boulevard St. Germain to offices adjoining the Bureau at 24 rue Pierre Curie. It is understood that while the Bureau will work in close cooperation with the Union, its organization will be kept quite distinct from that of the Bureau.

La Paix par le Droit has been published monthly when possible, but the great increase in the cost of production has made it necessary at times to combine two

monthly issues in one. It has continued its intelligent campaign for justice in international relations, ably assisted by such contributors as Charles Gide, Léon Bourgeois, Charles Richet and the late Heinrich Lammasch of Vienna, whose article on "The Peace of Saint-Germain" appeared in the issue of November, 1919.

The financial report of the European Bureau, verified by the auditor, M. Théodore Ruyssen, shows the following expenditures for the work of the Division of Intercourse and Education during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919:

Administrative expenses, including salaries, clerical assistance, publications, printing and postage	Frs. 51,320 05
Subventions	13,947.95
Miscellaneous expenses at bank	86 87
Total	Frs. 65,354.87

No disbursements were made on account of the work of the Division of Economics and History.

Visit of Baron d'Estournelles de Constant to the United States

On June 28, 1919, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, president of the European Bureau and of the Advisory Council in Europe, left Paris for the United States on a confidential mission which had been entrusted to him by his government. Arriving at New York July 8, he at once entered upon three busy weeks of conferences with leaders of American opinion and life, of addresses before representative bodies, of interviews with representatives of the leading newspapers, journeying in the summer heat from New York to Canada, returning by way of Buffalo, Cleveland and Washington to sail for France on July 28. During his brief visit, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant fulfilled both the letter and spirit of his mission, extending to all who came under his influence directly or indirectly the fine friendliness and consideration which is the basis of all genuine progress in international relations. He left behind him a truer conception of the France he represented and a clearer understanding of the real bonds of friendship between the United States and his own country.

The Advisory Council in Europe

The Endowment is fortunate in having added to the membership of the Advisory Council in Europe Comte de Penha-Garcia, now living at Geneva, Switzerland, formerly Minister of Finance of Portugal, ex-president of the Chamber of Deputies of Portugal and a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Comte de Penha-Garcia accepted the invitation of the Endowment under date of May 31, 1919.

Owing to the unsettled conditions in Europe, and awaiting the ratification of the treaty no attempt has been made during the period under review to call a meeting of the Advisory Council or of its Executive Committee.

Work in Europe

Union Interparlementaire

The Interparliamentary Union was founded in 1888 for the purpose of "uniting in common action the members of all parliaments constituted in national Groups in order to bring about the acceptance in their respective countries, either by legislation or by international treaties, of the principle that differences between nations should be settled by arbitration or in other ways either amicable or judicial."

Its work continued for twenty-seven years with the ever increasing sympathetic and financial support of the governments represented in its national Groups. While the war has suspended the active work of the Union, it has by no means destroyed it. On October 7, 1919, the first meeting of the Council of the Union since April, 1914, was held at Geneva, under the presidency of Lord Weardale. Ten countries were represented, as follows: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States. Letters of regret were sent by the French, Portuguese and Turkish delegates.

The interest centered upon the League of Nations. The Union will endeavor to become an unofficial and independent parliamentary supporter of the League and will initiate studies and discussions of the various subjects which have come or should be placed under the consideration of the League.

International Arbitration League, London

During the year special attention has been given to propaganda for the League of Nations. Speakers at Brotherhood meetings have made it the subject of their addresses. The Secretary of the League has given a special place in his lecturing work, even where it has not been specifically mentioned in the published title, to the League of Nations. Special attention has been given to helping educate women in sound political principles. On account of the continually increasing cost of production, the reduction in the circulation of the *Arbitrator*, the organ of the International Arbitration League, by 500 copies and in its size by four pages was rendered necessary. During the period under review a subvention of $1,000 was granted by the Endowment in support of the work of the International Arbitration League, in continuance of an annual gift begun by Mr. Carnegie personally many years ago because of his friendship for the late Sir William Randall Cremer, M.P., founder of this League.

Special Correspondents

The services rendered by the Special Correspondents in foreign countries, now numbering five, have become an important part of the work of the Division. Through the reports sent by the Special Correspondents, the Acting Director is kept in vital touch with the significant events in their respective countries and with the movement of public opinion regarding these events. They stand ready

at any time to offer friendly hospitality to visiting Americans, to make special investigations and report upon them, to seek out and send promptly to the New York office authoritative texts of speeches and governmental documents; in short, by intelligent cooperation, they assure the Acting Director of able support in the work of the Division in the countries they represent.

Mr. T. Miyaoka, correspondent at Tokio, has made his visit to the United States in 1918 the subject of many addresses and lectures since his return to Japan. These addresses have been delivered before such distinguished audiences as the Japanese Bar Association, the Commercial Law Association, the entire body of law students of the Chuo University, Tokio, the Geographic Society of Japan, and have been interpretative of American idealism as manifested in the war, in inventions and material progress, in poetry, literature and the arts. Mr. Miyaoka's reports from Japan, accompanied by cuttings from the leading Japanese newspapers, are of continued interest and importance. He rendered most valuable assistance in the selection of the depository for the library on American history and institutions which was sent to Japan by the Endowment.

Mr. Otfried Nippold, correspondent at Berne, has been particularly helpful in interpreting the German mind. Mr. Nippold has had peculiar opportunity through his former experiences and associations in Germany and his thorough knowledge of international law to make just and pertinent conclusions regarding the political situation in that country. He has also taken a very active part in interpreting the League of Nations to the people of Switzerland by addresses and by written word. He sends regular detailed reports and many newspaper items recording public utterances from Germany, Austria and Switzerland, as well as his own publications, which appear in book or pamphlet form, often in several languages. His advice was very helpful in making the decision regarding the library on American history and institutions which was sent to Zurich.

Sir William J. Collins, correspondent in London, sends regularly to the Division a careful summary of events occurring in Great Britain with his personal comments upon them. His reports are the result of clear and unprejudiced observation and form a valuable contribution to the necessary statement of facts upon which alone a fair judgment of the grave questions confronting the British people can be made.

Mr. Christian L. Lange, correspondent at Christiania, has been able to report on the situation in Europe, including the Central Powers, from first hand observation, since as Permanent Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union he has had occasion to visit practically all of the European countries. Mr. Lange's reports often contain valuable comment upon the general international situation, dealing with specific countries in turn and presenting his conclusions from personal study and careful attention to detail. These reports are especially helpful in presenting the Scandinavian point of view.

Mr. Edoardo Giretti, correspondent at Rome, has supplied the Division with the comments of the press in many of the chief Italian cities regarding the posi-

tion of Italy on the question of the Adriatic and the feeling of the Italian people toward the United States. Recently he has sent very interesting reports of the results of the Italian election. Mr. Giretti, while supporting the views of his own government, has manifested a most fair and friendly spirit and an evident desire to view the present crisis with an open mind.

The Acting Director regards the Division as singularly fortunate to have obtained the active cooperation of these men, of differing nationalities but of one mind and spirit, in the furtherance of the work of international good will.

The Institute of International Education

On February 10, 1919, the Executive Committee of the Endowment, after long and careful consideration, passed a resolution authorizing the organization of the Institute of International Education, the purpose of which should be to foster and promote in all possible ways closer international educational relations and understanding between the people of the United States and those of other countries, particularly through interchange of visits, and which, although given a separate name and organization, should form an integral part of the Division of Intercourse and Education.

Mr. Stephen P. Duggan was appointed director of the Institute and, with the aid and counsel of the Acting Director of the Division, began the work of organization. An Administrative Board was selected, to determine the policy of the Institute, consisting of representatives of the endowed and the State universities, of the men's and the women's colleges and of international scholarship, law, finance, commerce, medicine and journalism. The members of this Board are:

L. H. Baekeland
Nicholas Murray Butler
Charles Hopkins Clark
Stephen Pierce Duggan
Walter B. James
Alice Duer Miller
Paul Monroe
John Bassett Moore
Henry Morgenthau
Dwight W. Morrow
E. H. Outerbridge
Henry S. Pritchett
William H. Schofield

A large advisory committee, national in scope, consisting of seventy-two men and women distinguished in the field of scholarship and education, accepted the invitation of the Administrative Board to assist the director in solving the problems which should be presented to the Institute.

Concisely stated, the practical purpose of the Institute is to act as a clearing house of information and advice for Americans concerning matters educational in foreign countries, and for foreigners concerning matters educational in the United States. With this purpose in view the following divisions were established under the supervision of the persons named:

Europe: Stephen P. Duggan
Far East: Paul Monroe
Latin America: Peter H. Goldsmith
Women's Colleges: Virginia Newcomb
International Relations Clubs: Margaret C. Alexander

Realizing the importance of encouraging and systematizing exchange visits of teachers and students between universities in the United States and in foreign countries, the director at once undertook the organization of this work. A carefully worded questionnaire was sent out to some two hundred and fifty colleges and universities, which secured information as to the terms on which any of them would

(a) receive foreign professors as teachers in their own institutions or send professors of their own to teach in foreign institutions,
(b) receive foreign young men and women as students in their own institutions or send students of their own to foreign institutions.

With this information at his disposal the director in the summer of 1919 made a visit to Europe and conferred with educational authorities, distinguished scholars, prominent journalists and university officials in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Jugo-Slavia. He returned to the United States having laid a firm foundation for cordial cooperation in Europe with the future work of the Institute. The representative of the Institute in London and in Paris is the American University Union; in Italy, the American Academy at Rome; in Belgium, the Institut Solvay; in Switzerland, the Swiss Association of University Professors; in Spain, the Board of Higher Studies; in Jugo-Slavia, the Royal Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences. Representatives are about to be appointed in the Scandinavian countries.

Two-thirds of the foreign students in the colleges and universities of the United States come from Latin America and the countries of Asia. In the interests of international good will it is essential that the cooperation with those countries be especially well organized, and this work will receive serious consideration.

It was found that the universities of Europe, owing to the return of great numbers of students from the army, and to the lack of teachers and of funds, would find it difficult to grant leave of absence to members of their faculties for the present. The director arranged, however, for a few so-called circuit trips through the United States by several eminent educators from Europe, to visit American colleges and universities for short periods, giving lectures and conferences at each institution. A strong desire is manifested in Europe to have American teachers at European institutions. The director has already aided several eminent American educators in their plans to visit foreign institutions. At the request of the University of the Philippines, a name was suggested for appointment to be professor of journalism. In response to requests from the Serbian and from the Czechoslovakian governments names of suitable professors of agriculture and of English were suggested. Through the offices of the Institute a system has been developed by which American professors may be offered the opportunity to spend their sabbatical leave in teaching abroad. This promises to be an important feature of the work of the Institute.

During the past two years more than one hundred French young women were received into American institutions upon fellowships which included in most cases tuition, board and lodging. In grateful acknowledgment of that courtesy

the French Government has reciprocated by receiving twenty American young women in French lycees and four in higher institutions. Foreign universities have few or no fellowships for study in the United States. American fellowships for study abroad are more numerous, but they rarely are of sufficient value to pay the entire expenses of the students to whom they are granted. This opens a wide field for the work of the Institute. It is evident that interest in the matter has been awakened both here and abroad and the director is gathering information which shall be kept in such orderly fashion as to serve the needs of students throughout the world.

The facilities of the Institute are gladly placed at the disposal of all responsible educational organizations having international connections and interests. It has been its privilege to offer hospitality and practical aid to many foreign visitors, including the reception of delegations and the arrangement of itineraries. The director counts himself fortunate in the unusual opportunity thus afforded him for most interesting and informing conferences with the distinguished members of foreign commissions, with representatives of educational institutions throughout the world and with individuals of varying interests and needs.

In cooperation with the French High Commission, the Institute has published and distributed a booklet on "Opportunities for Higher Education in France," which is a comprehensive statement of admission requirements, degrees, courses, fees, faculties and other data helpful to the American student in his selection of an institution. A similar booklet will be issued concerning institutions in the United States for use of foreign students.

The work of the International Relations Clubs will be a continuation and development of the work hitherto carried on under the supervision of the American Association for International Conciliation under the name of International Polity Clubs (see pp. 55–57).

The wide interest in the work of the Institute is shown in the numerous invitations which the director has received from educational and scholarly organizations to discuss its objects and activities. In most instances his addresses have been followed by conferences to discover ways in which the Institute might serve the organizations. Among those which he has addressed during the past year are:

Annual Conference of the Association of American Colleges in Chicago
Annual Conference of Association of Urban Universities at Harvard University
Annual Conference of Cosmopolitan Clubs at Syracuse
Annual Conference of American Library Association in Chicago
Conference organized by the Board of Regents at Albany on Educational Reconstruction
National Research Council dinner in Washington
Annual Meeting of New York Academy of Public Education

During this comparatively short period of its existence the Institute has indicated that it will be of the greatest service to the Division by rendering important assistance in promoting new forms of international relationship.

Relations with Other American Republics

Regarding the work of the Division relating to other American Republics, attention is called to the report of the Inter-American Division of the American Association for International Conciliation (see pp. 58–61).

Relations with Japan and the Orient

The exchange of visits of representative men of Japan and the United States has not yet been resumed, owing to unsettled world conditions pending the ratification of the Peace Treaty.

The Japan Society has continued its efforts to satisfy the growing demand for information about Japan and the Far East. Under the auspices of the Society, Dr. T. Iyenaga, formerly secretary for the Department of Foreign Affairs, Tokio, and well known in this country as the director of the East and West News Bureau, New York, delivered an important series of lectures, as follows:

Address before the Advertising Club of Cleveland, on Japan's Part in the War

Address before the convention held under the auspices of the State Legislature of Wisconsin, the University of Wisconsin and the League to Enforce Peace, on Japan and her Allies

Address before the National Wholesale Drygoods Association, on Japan's Attitude toward the League of Nations

Address before the Canadian Club of Ottawa, on Japan's Part in the War and World Reconstruction

The average audience at these lectures numbered a thousand. Much publicity was given to these lectures and Dr. Iyenaga received many appreciative letters from those who attended the lectures and from those who read the reports in the press.

The Japan Society printed and distributed 3,000 copies of "China's Foremost Need," a pamphlet containing an address before the Executive Committee of the Japan Society by Mr. R. Yamashina, who came to this country representing forty of the Chambers of Commerce of Japan. There were also distributed 4,000 copies of a short résumé of the significant events in the history of Japan indicative of the initiative and spirit marking her career as a world power. This document and the pamphlet mentioned above were sent to the members of Congress, newspaper editors, a selected list of libraries, educators, chambers of commerce, boards of trade and men in public life. The responses indicated that they formed a distinct contribution toward promoting in this country a better and wider knowledge of Japan. Personal work by representatives of the Society who have visited cities in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio and New York has proved effective in stimulating general interest in Japan. During the year under review the Endowment's contribution in aid of the work of the Japan Society was $3,846.75.

International Visits of Representative Men

In the fall of 1918 the American Academy of Arts and Letters decided to mark the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of James Russell Lowell, February 22, 1919, by a notable public celebration of the unity and power of the literature of the English speaking peoples. As this presented an unusual opportunity to lend force to the strong movement for Anglo American sympathy, understanding and cooperation in solving world problems, the Acting Director offered to the Academy the cordial support of the Division, which was accepted.

All possible preparation was made for the successful carrying out of the program proposed. Careful attention was given to arrangements for the accommodation and comfort of the eminent British men of letters who were invited as guests of the Academy.

On February 19 a reception was held at the home of the Acting Director to welcome the distinguished visitors, who were:

From Great Britain:

Sir Henry Babington Smith, K.C.B.,
Acting High Commissioner to the United States
John Galsworthy, Esq.
C. Lewis Hind, Esq.
Robert Nichols, Esq.
Alfred Noyes, C.B.E., Litt.D.

From the Dominion of Canada:

James Cappon, F.R.S.C., LL.D.
Pelham Edgar, F.R.S.C., Ph.D.
Sir Robert Alexander Falconer, K.C.M.G., LL.D.
Maurice Hutton, LL.D.
Stephen Butler Leacock, F.R.S.C., Ph.D.
Archibald M'Kellar MacMechan, F.R.S.C.
Duncan Campbell Scott, F.R.S.C.

From Australia:

Henry Yule Braddon, M.L.C.

On the following evening at the banquet given at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Hon. Elihu Root presided and made the opening address of welcome. He was followed by Mr. John Galsworthy, who came across the ocean to represent the British Academy, and by Professor Maurice Hutton of Canada, Professor Brander Matthews giving the closing address of the evening.

On the evening of February 21, the Empire Theatre was given over to the Academy and its guests who witnessed a memorable performance of "Dear Brutus," written by James M. Barrie of the British Academy and played by a company of which William Gillette of the American Academy was the chief. Mr. Barrie, who was unable to be present, sent a charming letter of greeting which was widely published in the press.

The celebration was brought to a fitting close by the dignified literary exercises held in the ballroom of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel on the actual date of the

anniversary of Mr. Lowell, February 22. There, under the folds of the British and American flags, Professor William Milligan Sloane, Chancellor of the Academy, presiding, Professor Barrett Wendell, moved by memories of personal association with Mr. Lowell as his college professor, brought him vividly before his hearers, Mr. Alfred Noyes read his own beautiful poems, "The Avenue of the Allies" and "Victory," and Mr. Stephen B. Leacock gave his stirring message from Canada, while Mr. Edgar Lee Masters and Dr. Samuel McChord Crothers spoke for America.

The detailed reports published by the newspapers, the many appreciative letters received from those who attended the celebration and from the distinguished guests of the Academy after their return to their respective countries all pointed to the conclusion that the event had been in fact what it was hoped that it might be, a noteworthy demonstration of the new and fine spirit of unity and concord that binds America to Great Britain and her colonies.

The Academy published later a small commemorative volume, giving a brief account of the events and the addresses delivered.

Lincoln Statue

With a view to further cementing the unity of those peoples who possess in common the English language, the Division has taken an active interest in the work of the American committee which has arranged for the presentation of a bronze replica of the Saint Gaudens statue of Abraham Lincoln as a gift from the American people to the people of Great Britain, to be set up in the Canning Enclosure, Westminster, London, on the site set apart therefor by the British Government. In December, 1919, the bronze replica of the statue was delivered to H. M. Office of Works, London. The construction of the pedestal is now under way and the formal ceremonies of unveiling and dedication will take place during the year 1920.

American Association for International Conciliation

The American Association has published during the year in monthly editions of 35,000, twelve regular documents and five additional special bulletins. These contain official material bearing upon the League of Nations and other questions which were before the Peace Conference at Paris, and are as follows:

Regular Documents

America and the Russian Dilemma, by Jerome Landfield. The German Peace Treaties and Middle Europe. July, 1918.

A Voice from Germany: Why German Peace Declarations Fail to Convince, by Professor F. W. Foerster. Austria's Peace Proposals: The Letter to Prince Sixtus. August, 1918.

Memoranda and Letters of Dr. Muehlon: Introduction and translation by Munroe Smith, German text and Appendix. September, 1918.

The League of Nations, by Viscount Grey of Falloden, and Nicholas Murray Butler. Labor and the League of Nations, by Ordway Tead. The European Commission of the Danube, by Edward Krehbiel. Address by President Wilson at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, September 27, 1918. October, 1918.

The "Lusitania": Opinion of Court, United States District Court, Southern District of New York—In the Matter of the Cunard Steamship Company, Limited, as owners of the Steamship "Lusitania," for limitation of its liability. November, 1918.

Official Documents Looking toward Peace, Series No. IV. Official Correspondence between the United States and (1) Austria-Hungary, (2) Germany, and (3) Turkey, and the Terms of Armistice accepted by Austria-Hungary, Germany and Turkey. December, 1918.

A League of Nations. Statements from the League of Free Nations Association, the League to Enforce Peace, the World's Court League, and the League of Nations Union. Speech delivered by Felix Calonder, ex-President of the Swiss Confederation, before the National Council of Switzerland, June 6, 1918. Article by Sir William Collins. Address delivered by Charles R. Van Hise, late President of the University of Wisconsin, at the Wisconsin State Convention of the League to Enforce Peace. International Organization, an annotated reading list, by Frederick C. Hicks. January, 1919.

The Problems of Reconstruction: International and National, by Lindsay Rogers February, 1919.

Russian Documents, including the Russian Constitution and the Russian Land Law. The Franco-Russian Alliance. March, 1919.

The German Revolution: Documentary History of the German Revolution Manifesto of the Spartacus Group. What Should be Changed in Germany, by Charles Andler. April, 1919.

Palestine, by Richard Gottheil. The New Armenia: Claims at the Peace Conference, reprinted from the *London Times*. The Albanian Question, by Mehmed Bey Konitza. Memorandum submitted by the Albanian Delegation to the Peace Conference. May, 1919.

Documents regarding the Peace Conference: the Organization of the Peace Conference; General Sessions; the Covenant of the League of Nations; Speech delivered by President Wilson before the Peace Conference, April 28, 1919. June, 1919.

Special Bulletins

The Dawn in Germany? The Lichnowsky and Other Disclosures, by James Brown Scott. November, 1918.

Yougoslavia, by M. I. Pupin. Declaration of Independence of the Mid-European Union, October 26, 1918. Declaration of Independence of the Czecho-Slovak Nation, October 18, 1918. Declaration of Corfu, July 20, 1917. January, 1919.

Problems of the Peace Conference: American Opinion and Problems of the Peace, an interview given to Edward Marshall by Nicholas Murray Butler. A French Plan for a League of Nations: report given to the Associated Press by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. January, 1919.

The League of Nations. Proposed Constitution of the League of Nations. Speeches delivered before the Peace Conference by members of the Commission on the League of Nations. Addresses delivered by President Wilson in Boston, February 24, 1919, and in New York, March 4, 1919. March, 1919.

Criticisms of the Draft Plan for the League of Nations: William Howard Taft, Charles E. Hughes, Elihu Root. April, 1919.

As previously stated, the ruling of the Post Office Department makes necessary a small subscription charge of 25 cents per year or $1.00 for five years. There is abundant evidence, through correspondence and the subscriptions paid, that the publications of the Association are recognized as reliable documents to be used in the preparation of bibliographies and for reference in scholarly research. In order therefore to complete the set of official documents which had been published in such convenient form, special care was taken to include the full text of the Peace Treaty (September, 1919). The large additional expenditure involved in this publication has been more than justified by results.

In addition to its own publications, the Association has distributed a limited number of the following books to the International Polity Clubs and similar groups interested in international problems:

Angell, Norman	The Political Conditions of Allied Success
Ashbee, C. R.	The American League to Enforce Peace
Cocks, F. S. (ed)	Secret Treaties
Duggan, Stephen P.	The League of Nations
Gibbons, H. A.	New Map of Asia
Minor, Raleigh	The Republic of Nations
Morrow, Dwight W.	Society of Free States
Muir, Ramsay	National Self-Government
Phelps, Edith M. (ed)	The League of Nations: A Handbook
Savić, V.	South Eastern Europe
Sayre, Francis B.	Experiments in International Administration
Smuts, J. C.	The League of Nations: a Practical Suggestion
Stoddard and Frank	The Stakes of the War
Sutherland, George	The Constitution and World Power
Wells, H. G., et al.	The Idea of a League of Nations
Zimmern, A. E.	Nationality and Government

A subvention of $2,500 was allotted to the France-America Society to be expended in work for the furtherance of friendly relations between the United States and France.

International Polity Clubs

Owing to abnormal conditions in the higher educational institutions caused by the war, the work with the polity clubs during the period under review has been seriously handicapped, but it is gratifying to report that there are now active polity clubs, with membership ranging from fifteen to one hundred, in thirty-four

colleges and universities, distributed throughout eighteen States of the Union as follows:

Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles, California
State Normal School, Los Angeles, California
University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California
Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois
Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana
Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa
University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana
Colby College, Waterville, Maine
Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts
Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts
Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts
Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota
University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri
North East Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville, Missouri
Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey
Barnard College, New York, New York
Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina
University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Otterbein University, Westerville, Ohio
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
University of Texas, Austin, Texas
University of Virginia, University, Virginia
State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Plans are nearly completed for the organization of the following twenty additional clubs, chiefly in the southern States:

University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida
Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia
Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia
Monmouth College, Monmouth, Illinois
Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
University of Maine, Orono, Maine
Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri
State College for Women, Greensboro, North Carolina
Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, North Carolina
Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Charleston College, Charleston, South Carolina
Clemson College, Clemson, South Carolina
Presbyterian College, Clinton, South Carolina
Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina
Wofford College, Spartanburg, South Carolina
University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee
Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Virginia
Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia
Richmond College, Richmond, Virginia
Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Virginia

At the informal conference of members of university faculties interested in the international polity club movement, held in December, 1919, at Cleveland, unanimous approval was expressed of the results obtained by this method of awakening and increasing interest in the understanding and solution of international questions.

The polity clubs are organized for the scientific study of international relations devoid of any propagandist spirit. They are under the supervision of a faculty member selected under the advice of the president of each institution. This method encourages the study of world problems under the careful guidance of a mature mind. For the coming year there is being prepared a syllabus to aid in the study of the momentous questions of the present time. A bibliography and list of desirable books for outside reading will be provided. Speakers of ability and scholarship will be sent from time to time to address the clubs.

These clubs will be continued by the Institute of International Education under the name of International Relations Clubs (see p. 50).

During the year expenditures for the work of the international polity clubs amounted to $8,280.05.

Summer School Work

Although, in general, the Trustees of the Endowment felt that the time had come when the educational work conducted through the summer schools of the country by this Association on behalf of the Endowment should be carried by the institutions themselves, the cooperation was continued in the case of three institutions, namely, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee; Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee; and New Mexico Normal University, Las Vegas, New Mexico. In the latter instance, the Association sent Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald of the University of Illinois not only to conduct a number of courses in the Spanish language but also to assist President Roberts in organizing a conference of Spanish speaking teachers in the State. It was the hope of President Roberts and the Association in calling the conference to stimulate the study of Spanish throughout the State and, by the increased understanding which will result from the knowledge of a common language, to foster better relations between the Mexicans and the people of New Mexico.

INTER-AMERICAN DIVISION

A rapidly increasing correspondence with statesmen, educators, men of letters and national and social leaders has been maintained as a means of fostering ideas and developing friendly acquaintance and feeling.

Many distinguished and important Latin American visitors have been entertained, attended and assisted by the Inter-American Division during their stay in the United States, and educators, students and business men of the United States who have visited the other American countries have received the cordial cooperation of the division. Among the former may be mentioned:

The Chilean Financial Commission:
- Sr. Eliodoro Yáñez, former Minister of Foreign Relations
- Sr. Benito Villanueva, president of the Bank of Chile
- Sr. Juan E. Torcornal, former Minister of Foreign Relations

The Chilean Educational Commission:
- Sr. Pedro Aguirre and Sra. de Aguirre
- Sr. Enrique Molina
- Sra. Amanda Labarca Hubertson
- Sr. Maximiliano Salas Marchán

Dr. Jorge A. Mitre, director and proprietor of the newspaper "La Nación" of Buenos Aires, Argentina

Sr. Ignacio Marchant Scott, Chilean counselor at law

Sr. Gerardo Zúñiga Montúfar, Costa Rican man of letters

His Excellency, Sr. Manuel Gondra, Ambassador from Paraguay to the United States

His Excellency, Sr. Beltrán Mathieu, Ambassador from Chile to the United States

His Excellency, Dr. Francisco Tudela y Varela, Ambassador from Perú to the United States

Sra. Elvira Líbano de Court, directress of a girls' college of Santiago, Chile

Sr. Amado Nervo, the distinguished and lamented Mexican poet

Sr. Roberto Brenes Mesén, former Minister of Public Instruction in Costa Rica

Sr. Mauricio Cravotto, a professor in the University of Montevideo, Uruguay

Dr. Rómulo S. Naón, former Ambassador from Argentina to the United States

Sr. Fernando S. Solórzano, Consul General of Nicaragua at New York

Dr. Juan Bautista de Lavalle, official delegate of Perú to the Peace Conference at Versailles

Sr. José Antonio de Lavalle, commissioned by the Peruvian Government to study economic conditions in Mexico and the United States

Sr. Manual Segundo Sánchez, director of the National Library, Caracas, Venezuela

Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, President of Brazil

Sr. Félix Nieto del Río, Chilean journalist

Srta. D. Corina Urbina, directress of the San Felipe college for girls, Santiago, Chile

Sr. Carlos Silva Vildósola, correspondent of *El Mercurio* of Santiago, Chile

Sr. Albino Mernes, Mayor of Asunción, Paraguay
Sr. Carlos Castro Ruiz, Consul General of Chile at New York
Lieut. Col. A. R. Campos, professor in the University of Montevideo, Uruguay

The Inter-American Division has aided in welcoming, counseling and placing a number of Latin American students in educational institutions of the United States.

Reference has been made in previous reports to the Inter-American Library, to be issued by the Inter-American Division. A number of books dealing with the history, literature and institutions of the United States were to be translated into Spanish and Portuguese and distributed in the republics of South and Central America with a view to contributing to first hand knowledge of the United States in those republics. In like manner, translations were to be made into English of similar books dealing with the South and Central American republics and circulated in the United States. The work of translation has been slow and complicated by war conditions and by the necessity of corresponding with authors and publishers in South and Central America, but the following three volumes of the series have now been published, in editions of 5,000:

Vida constitucional de los Estados Unidos, by Benjamin Harrison.
Cuentos clásicos del norte, primera serie, by Edgar Allan Poe.
Cuentos clásicos del norte, segunda serie, by Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Edward Everett Hale.

The following additional volumes are in the hands of the printer and will be published within a short time:

El significado de la educacion, by Nicholas Murray Butler.
Las Bibliotecas de los Estados Unidos, by Ernesto Nelson.

The shipment of the collections of North American books for South American libraries—selected, purchased and packed under the direction of the Inter-American Division, and reported in the last annual statement—was delayed by the lack of transportation, due to the exigencies of the war. After the signing of the armistice, and as rapidly as transportation could be secured, the collections were sent to their destinations, the last of them leaving in February, 1919. They were as follows:

	Volumes
Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, Perú	2,864
Biblioteca Nacional, Santiago, Chile	2,864
Bibliotheca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	2,264
Bibliotheca do Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil	825
Biblioteca Nacional, Montevideo, Uruguay	1,887
Facultad de Derecho, Montevideo, Uruguay	302
Instituto Paraguayo, Asunción, Paraguay	1,887
Facultad de Derecho, Asunción, Paraguay	302

These collections were duly presented on behalf of the Endowment by the diplomatic representatives of the United States in the respective countries.

Enthusiastic acknowledgments have been received from the directors of the institutions receiving these collections, and, in a number of cases, from the Ministers of Foreign Relations or other representatives of the governments.

The leading newspapers have commented upon the importance and significance of the collections, and the opening of them to the public was attended by appropriate public ceremonies. In Paraguay, the President of the Republic mentioned the collections in his message to the congress, and the opening of the books to the public was made a day of municipal festivity.

The magazine *Inter-America* has been published each month as follows:

Español: Volumen II, Números 2–6, and Volumen III, Número 1, 5,700 copies.

English: Volume I, Number 6, and Volume II, Numbers 1–5, 5,300 copies.

It is distributed throughout the United States and the other American countries to the presidents of the leading universities and colleges, to statesmen, legislators, administrative officers and men of letters. Every leading newspaper and magazine receives a copy, as well as each of the depository libraries of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Interest in the magazine is growing. Requests are frequently received for missing numbers from individuals, libraries and other institutions with the statement that the intention is to bind and preserve complete sets. The press of North and South America often quote from it and many appreciative letters testify to its usefulness.

The following pamphlets were issued by, or under the direction of the division, and distributed as follows:

Boletín 17: Los Estados Unidos ante el conflicto, por Hérbert S. Houston. Octubre de 1918 (16,000 copies).

Boletín 18: Em honra da sua excellencia o Senhor Domicio da Gama, Embaixador Brazileiro. Discurso proferido por John Bassett Moore. Novembro, 1918 (3,000 copies, in Brazil).

Boletín 19: Os Estados Unidos ante o conflicto, por Hérbert S. Houston. Dezembro de 1918 (Portuguese version of Boletín 17, 3,000 copies, in Brazil).

Bulletin 20: The European War and Pan Americanism, by Rómulo S. Naón. April, 1919 (14,000 copies in the United States).

Boletín 21: La Guerra europea y el panamericanismo, por Rómulo S. Naón. Abril de 1919 (Spanish version of Bulletin 20, 16,000 copies).

The United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1915, No. 27, *Opportunities for Foreign Students at Colleges and Universities in the United States*, by Samuel Paul Capen, specialist in higher education, which had been translated into Spanish under the direction of the division, was published by the United States Bureau of Education as *Boletín, 1918, No. 16, Facilidades ofrecidas a los estudiantes en los colegios y un iversidades en los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte.* The division aided in the distribution of 6,000 copies among individuals and institutions of the Latin American countries.

The division received, with the compliments of the War Department, fifty copies of the work, *The War with Germany, a Statistical Summary*, by Leonard P. Ayers, colonel, general staff, chief of the statistics branch of the general staff, and distributed them to leading Latin American newspapers, libraries and universities.

The director of the division has lectured as follows:

August 20, 1918: at a luncheon given in honor of Dr. Jorge A. Mitre, director and proprietor of the newspaper *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, at the Machinery Club of New York.

December 28, 1918: before the annual meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, at Brinkerhoff Hall, Barnard College, New York: "Spanish as a Key to the Literary Riches of America."

April 24, 1919: at the annual dinner of The University Club, White Plains, New York: "The Future Policy of the United States in America."

May 31, 1919: at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, before the Cosmopolitan Club: "Latin American Culture."

June 5, 1919: at Washington, D. C., before the Second Pan American Commercial Conference.

June 13, 1919: at Wadleigh High School, New York City, before two sections of the school (1,600 girls in each): "The New Citizenship."

The regular mailing lists for the distribution of pamphlets have increased thus:

Spanish-American	1,700	additional addresses
Brazilian	400	" "
United States (made up of persons or institutions interested in inter-American relations)	1,000	" "

FINANCIAL

The allotments paid to or through the American Association for International Conciliation during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919, amounted to $64,050, divided as follows:

Work of the Association in the United States, including administration and publication	$29,850	
Inter-American Division	10,000	
		$39,850
For payment to other branches and organizations:		
Conciliation Internationale, Paris	$4,000	
Argentine Branch, Buenos Aires	500	
Brazilian Branch, Rio de Janeiro	500	
Chilean Branch, Santiago	500	
Peruvian Branch, Lima	500	
Canadian Branch, Ottawa	500	
Chinese Branch, Peking	200	
France-America Society, New York	2,500	
		9,200
Special work for the Division of Intercourse and Education:		
International Polity Clubs		15,000
Total		$64,050

The Carnegie Corporation provided, in addition, the sum of $46,000, to cover the excess cost of Document No. 127, June, 1918, "The Disclosures from Germany."

Other Work in the United States

American Peace Society

The work of the Society, which consisted chiefly of the support of the United States Government and the nations associated with it in their efforts to win and to end the war, was carried on principally at the headquarters at Washington, the five departments having been suspended by decision of the Executive Committee.

The *Advocate of Peace*, the journal of the Society, was published regularly through the year.

The secretary delivered a number of addresses under the auspices of the United War Work Campaign, the Liberty Loan Campaign and the Four Minute Men's Organization.

The following Committee was appointed to represent the Society in Paris during the Peace Conference: Theodore E. Burton, Arthur D. Call, Jackson H. Ralston and James L. Slayden. Mr. Call was in Paris during December, 1918, to April, 1919, inclusive, and sent interesting reports upon the conference for publication in the *Advocate of Peace*. The other members of the Committee deemed it unwise to go to Paris.

The treasurer's report shows that the total receipts were $27,635.15 and the total disbursements $21,284.06. The subvention granted by the Carnegie Endowment for the year ended June 30, 1919, was $20,000, seventy-two and four tenths per cent of the total receipts. Of the disbursements, the sum of $2,534.65 was devoted to field work. No allotments were made to branch societies. The cost of printing and mailing the *Advocate of Peace*, pamphlets and books was $5,703.08. Traveling expenses of the secretary were $2,600.57.

The allotment of $20,000 in aid of the work of the American Peace Society for the period under review was made by the Executive Committee at the meeting held May 28, 1918.

Educational Work

A wide distribution of books, pamphlets and periodicals has been made from the offices of the Division (see p. 43), with the definite aim of informing public opinion on questions of international significance, and the educational activity of the polity clubs (see pp. 55–57), together with the limited but important work in summer schools (see p. 57), have proved an effective means of developing the international mind.

Visits of Distinguished Foreigners

It has been the privilege of the Acting Director to extend personal hospitality to numerous visitors from foreign lands during the period under review. There have been numbered among these guests the official and unofficial representatives of many of the allied and neutral countries as well as men of letters and of inter-

national distinction. Every effort is made to bring these visitors into personal and social relations with the leaders of opinion in the United States.

The Acting Director and his associates are earnestly considering how most wisely and helpfully to build up and develop the future work of the Division to meet the momentous demands of changed world conditions. Various plans are being studied, but definite decisions must await the ratification of the Peace Treaty.

The policies of the Division have been frequently declared and frequently published. They are not built upon any expectation of human perfection or of the discovery of any patent device for the elimination of war. They are built rather upon the conviction that war will only be prevented and in time abolished when law and justice take the place of force not only in settling differences among nations but in the hearts and minds of men.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
Acting Director.

NEW YORK, *March 17, 1920.*

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

The conference of the Committee of Research called by the Division of Economics and History met at the Hotel Lutetia in Paris on September 15, 1919, and was in session until September 20. Besides the Director and Professor Shotwell, there were present Professor Eugene Borel, Professor Charles Gide, Francis W. Hirst, Esq., Sir George Paish, Senator Henri LaFontaine, Professor Maffeo Pantaleoni and Professor Harald Westergaard. Baron Sakatani, Professor Ogawa, Dr. Reinsch and Minister Luzzatti were detained by official duties, Professor Greven, by the interruption of railway traffic through Belgium and Germany, and Professor Kinley by his duties as Acting President of the University of Illinois. The spirit of the gathering was everything that could be desired. The members showed a high appreciation of the opportunity for research work which is now open and not only worked zealously to formulate plans but willingly undertook to spend time and effort in helping to execute them.

Professor Borel, who presided for a part of the time at the conference of 1911, was made chairman of the conference, and the working plans of previous conferences were followed. After some general discussion, the following committees were appointed to assist the editor in securing well qualified writers and in getting access to indispensable materials in their several countries:

Committees	*Subjects*
Sir George Paish and Professor Pantaleoni	Food
Sir George Paish and Professor Borel	Shipping
Professor Pantaleoni and Mr. Hirst	Mining, metallurgy and manufactures
Sir George Paish and Senator LaFontaine	Finances
Professor Westergaard and Professor Gide	Population
Senator LaFontaine and Professor Gide	Labor
Professor Borel, Professor Westergaard and Mr. Hirst	Commercial policies

The plan for the selection of writers is described in Appendix A of this report.

It was decided that a limited number of short monographs on subjects of immediate and pressing importance should be issued and that, of such studies,

some should be made as contributions to the history and issued in abbreviated form in advance of the general work, while, in other cases, they should be designed merely for the practical service which they would render to the public by disseminating quickly and widely economic facts on which efforts to restore normal production the world over will need to be based. It was hoped that through the International Agricultural Institute it might be possible to secure authoritative statistics of food production and a comprehensive report on the present sources of food supply, and that through the records of the Inter-Allied Shipping Board a monograph on shipping during and since the war might be secured. Plans were made for securing a work on chemical industries and a series of subtopics for the guidance of writers on the more general subjects was prepared and is given in Appendix B of this report.

This brief conference accomplished something the lack of which was embarrassing in the weeks immediately following the conference of 1911, in that it took measures to coordinate the action of the different members in securing writers and to guard against duplications of work. Professor Shotwell's continued stay in Europe will greatly contribute to this result, since he will have close personal oversight of all that the committees do. He will be aided by an editorial committee in England, who will help to carry on the work when he is in America.

Among the impressions which members of the conference generally and strongly expressed may be mentioned, first, that of the extent and importance of the work which we have undertaken and the vast material for it which the war has supplied; secondly, the necessity, in view of the extent of the work, of proceeding in harmony with the various agencies which are entering different parts of the same general field and, thirdly, the importance of quick production and publication of the short reports, since the chief service which they can render will be possible only during a few months of the near future.

Even a brief stay in France gives one a profound impression of the difficulty of the task which confronts governments and peoples. Members of the conference were enabled to make excursions to important fields of active warfare and witnessed, at first hand, some of the material ruin which it caused. Within the area in which the fighting took place the amount of destruction surpasses anything that can be described by word or picture. One may drive by the place where a village has stood without seeing any débris of it or being led to suppose that human habitations had ever been there. In most cases, however, shattered walls still mark such spots and the percentage of sheer ruin tapers off gradually from the foci of devastation to the marginal areas. Places are encountered where some roofs still make habitation possible, though in some large cities like Lens roofs are almost completely lacking and walls are nearly so. In Rheims only ten houses were wholly untouched, though most happily the wonderful cathedral stands almost in its pristine beauty in spite of the shells that left marks on walls and roof. Give the German his due; he can not really have tried to

destroy that cathedral; but the destruction which he did intend is so vast and obvious that sparing this particular building will not be considered a sufficiently extenuating circumstance to change the general estimate of his moral quality.

The part of France that is still intact is vastly greater than that which is in ruin and this helps to give a favorable impression as to the future of the country. If one looks beyond the merely material ruin to the disarrangements of the entire national life which the war has wrought, he will derive a little consolation from the fact that the local populations whose pitiful fate was in everyone's mind, as they were driven from their homes and scattered far and wide through France, will probably not wish to return in full numbers to the homes from which they were driven. Very many of them have found other places where they can play a better part than they formerly did in the industry of the nation. The whole economy of France has been shaken and rearranged and the best results can be had by allowing industrial workers to continue to do what, by their hard experience, they have found that they can best do, even though it separates them from their former homes. The farming people will return to their village homes, as some have already done, but the appalling cost of fully restoring the ruined villages and cities will for a long time be unnecessary. The destruction of the French mines has put a burden on all Europe and has appreciably delayed the return of the former prosperity. Trenches are already mostly refilled and barbed wire has been rolled into a countless number of bundles and deposited by the roadsides. Shattered walls will tell for many decades the story of the power of destruction which science has put into the hands of those who know how so to use it as to make a devil in Eden regard himself as an incompetent beginner in mischief; but the whole story of merely material ravages pales by comparison with what the war has wrought in another sphere.

One encounters invisible ruins as extensive and appalling as are the visible ones, and these extend through Europe and are particularly bad in the empire whose Kaiser congratulated his people on having escaped the material ruin that his armies had wrought in France. When we leave the invaded area and journey over the region where the France that we have known—by far the greater part of the country—retains all of its pristine beauty, we become conscious of a devastation that is subtle and all pervasive. The war has shattered institutions as well as walls of stone and mortar.

Organized labor the world over has been grouped by the war in three divisions representing three different plans for rising in the social and economic scale. The first of them aims to thrive directly and wholly by the extinction of what it terms "capitalism." It would not exterminate the capitalists personally—though in places it has made a beginning of that—but aims to reduce them to the status of proletarians and leave, in the countries where private capital has flourished, no one who owns productive wealth or hires any man to use it. The second division would thrive at the cost of the capitalist class without crudely stripping them of their possessions. The third would thrive *with* the capitalist

class but on favorable terms of distribution. By the third program productive wealth might still increase though its benefits would accrue largely to the workers.

A trip over the departments of France would leave the impression that even in the fighting area there is a great deal that remains undestroyed and that the untouched parts of the country are, like corresponding parts of Germany, much as they were before the war. Assuredly there is a vast material property surviving, but on it all there rests the burden of a debt which now amounts to a fraction over fifty-two per cent of the entire national wealth. The currency is, in effect, irredeemable paper unacceptable outside of France and with a rapidly diminishing purchasing power within the country. International trade is stripping the country of available commodities for exportation as well as of securities. The European food supply is short and a famine-like state may again exist in the central area. These emergency conditions are more nearly remediable than are others which the war has created and the most serious fact which has come to light is the general tendency to check production when the lives of many people and the comfort of all require a quickening of it. This influence must depress the condition of all peoples that it reaches and will be the chief obstacle to their recovery from the state to which war has brought them. It results from the strategy pursued by the two more radical forms of the labor movement and even, in some measure, from the most conservative of them all.

There are changes in progress which increase instead of reducing the income to be divided between employer and employed and enlightened trade unionism recognizes and encourages some of them; but even conservative trade unions favor restricting the output of their several mills and shops in order that a full force of laborers may be retained in them and in order that the small product may bring high prices and so secure high pay for the men who pursue this policy. If A, B, C and D are living on an island and exchanging products with one another, A may keep down the supply of his product and make all the others pay him well for it; but it is as self-evident as anything in economics can be that, if they all pursue that policy concurrently, it will impoverish them all. The four will create little and get little and they will have no better ground for thinking that dawdling instead of working can make them rich than had Crusoe when he was creating by the labor of his own hands all that he got of necessaries and comforts.

The greatest problem for the world to solve concerns itself, not with national boundaries nor even with national debts, but with this deeply rooted policy of restricting production in the hope that the men who practice it may thrive at the expense of others. It is a mutual stinting of supplies—an effort by each producing group to make others get on with a limited amount of what it furnishes. The agricultural class is an early sufferer by the transaction. It is not so organized as by mutual agreement to reduce its own product, and serious indeed would it be for the world if it were so. Fighting a shortage of merchandise by creating a scarcity of food would be a sorry plan for relieving poverty and famine, but only the unorganized state of the agriculturists prevents something like this. Govern-

ments will have to handle as best they can this menacing condition, but they also have their handicaps at a time when the utmost that they can do is too little. Cutting across the spontaneous effort that is beginning under grave difficulties to restore a measure of prosperity is a sinister political agitation. It aims to reach the desired result by a far easier and shorter route, that of a seizure of what wealth there is—a proletarian revolution. In the face of all this there is needed an *entente cordiale* between capital and labor and a similar *entente* between these two interests and the public. Are the governments of today able to ensure this? Will they meet titanic internal problems better than they are meeting the simpler ones of political boundaries, war indemnities and international leagues? Have they insight enough to do it, supposing that they have the highest patriotism and wish to use the whole force of the state for this end? If we judge by the experience of earlier wars and the opinion of John Stuart Mill, we may conclude that the recovery from the ravages of the present war will surprise the world by its rapidity; but not only has the recent war been unique in its destructiveness and in the debts it has left; it is also unique in the anarchic forces that it has stimulated and in the obstacles it has put in the way of recovery. Very wide must be the knowledge and very clear the economic insight that will meet the situation. There is something like a famine demand for what the Carnegie Endowment was created to furnish—a study of the effects of war and the measures that in the interest of peace, internal as well as external, are called for.

JOHN BATES CLARK,
Director.

March 17, 1920.

Note. By way of supplementing this report it is desirable to note that the work of this Division of the Endowment has been almost completely merged in the work of preparing the Economic History of the War, and that the European divisions of the Committee of Research have become or will soon become editorial boards connected chiefly with this latter work. This fact and its consequences will appear more fully in future reports.—J. B. C.

APPENDIX A

Economic History of the War

TABLE SHOWING HOW THE IMMEDIATE QUEST FOR WRITERS WAS DISTRIBUTED

Subject	*Country*	*Member*
The supply and distribution of food	France	Gide
	Great Britain	Paish
	Holland and Belgium	La Fontaine
	Italy and Spain	Pantaleoni
	India, Australia and Argentina	Paish
	Austria and Hungary	Hirst
	Switzerland and Germany	Borel
Shipping	Scandinavia	Westergaard
	Italy	Pantaleoni
	Germany	Westergaard
	England	Paish
	Holland	Westergaard
	Greece	Paish
	France	Gide
	Spain and America	.....
Railways	England	Paish
	France	.....
	Italy	Pantaleoni
	Switzerland	Borel
	Germany	Borel
	Austria	Hirst
	Russia	Borel
Finance	Switzerland	Borel
	Italy	Pantaleoni
	Belgium	La Fontaine
	France	Gide
	Great Britain	Paish
	Scandinavia	Westergaard
	Finland	Westergaard
	Holland	Hirst
	Spain	.....
	British Dominions	.....
	Germany	Borel
	Russia	Westergaard
Manufactures:		
Textiles	Great Britain	Hirst
	Italy	Pantaleoni
	France	Gide
	Netherlands and Belgium	La Fontaine
Metal Industries	Great Britain	Hirst
	Italy	Pantaleoni
	France	Gide
	Central Powers	Westergaard
	Belgium	La Fontaine

Subject	*Country*	*Member*
Fuel Supply	Great Britain	.....
	Italy	Pantaleoni
	Belgium	La Fontaine
	France	Gide
	Scandinavia	Westergaard
	Switzerland	Borel
	Germany	Borel
Labor	England	.....
	Belgium	La Fontaine
	Switzerland	Borel
	Italy	Pantaleoni
	France	Gide
Population		Westergaard
Commercial Policies		Westergaard
		Borel
		Paish
		Hirst

APPENDIX B

Economic History of the War

DETAILED TOPICS SUGGESTED FOR TREATMENT

Food

Consumption

Prior to the war (crop years)
During the war
Present

Average Crops

Prior to the war (also acreage)
Actual crops. Each year during war
Crop of present season
(Wheat, rye, barley, maize, oats, separately and combined)

Imports

Average yearly imports of cereals prior to war in detail (per crop year)
Actual imports each year during the war in detail (per crop year)
Imports needed current year to meet average consumption prior to war, also to meet average consumption during the war. (When a country has a surplus, state amount available for export)
Imports to be given both in quantity and in money
Similar information to be given for other foodstuffs (both as to quantity and value) consumed, produced, imported and exported.

Potatoes	Pig and pork
Beans, peas	Venison
Other vegetables	Poultry
Hay	Eggs
Feeding stuffs	Fish
Meat	Butter
Cattle and beef, including veal	Cheese
	Fruit
Sheep and mutton	Vegetable oil
Olive oil	for margarine, etc.

Amount of agricultural labor, prior to, during and after war
Prospect of recovery, or otherwise, of agricultural production
Extent to which agricultural machinery is employed and practical measures for increasing its use
Special advantages to a nation for producing special kinds of food and effects of shortage of labor in reducing the production of certain kinds of food and in increasing the supply of others

Labor

Shifting at the opening of the war
Women and children in industry
Wages
Deportation
Unemployment
Use of foreign and colonial labor
Trade union movements
Strikes
Government control
Arbitration, etc.

*Alimentation**

I Productions

Productions agricoles. Statistiques
Déficits
Importations denrées alimentaires
Prohibition ou main-mise de l'Etat

*Proposed by Professor Gide.

Alimentation

II Consommation

Augmentation de la demande
Hausse des prix. Nombre indices
Remèdes employés:

(a) Par l'Etat — Taxations; Réquisition; Rationnement

(b) Par l'Association — Sociétés Coopératives de consommation; Ligues de consommation Sociétés d'Economies

Transportation

Shipping

Number of ships
Tonnage
Estimated gross earnings (in the years 1913–1919* inclusive)
12 typical freight rates: monthly averages 1913–1919
Amounts of shipping taken over by governments (if possible, month by month)
Rates of payments made by governments with alterations from time to time
Ships sunk in the several years from 1914–1919, inclusive (1) by submarines and (2) from other causes. Total
Ships built in the several years from 1913–1919, inclusive, and total of voyages, average distance run and average length of voyage per ship
Strikes at ports or on shipboard, number of men involved and length of time lost in the same series of years
Wages of sailors; Prices of fuel; Prices of supplies } Month by month, if possible
Rates of insurance of hull and cargo, month by month
Prices of ships per ton, month by month

Railways

Length
Capital
Number of engines, freight and passenger cars
Whether single or double track
Extent to which roads have been damaged by war
How far double tracks have been reduced to single or altogether destroyed
How far the roads have been maintained and how much needs to be spent to make damages good
Present quantity of rolling stock in comparison with prewar quantity
How much rolling stock has been imported or exported
Present earnings; present expenses; present net earnings; present charges; surplus or deficit
To what extent freight rates or passenger fares have been advanced
Percentage of advance
How far wages have risen stated in percentages and in gross amounts of increase from the beginning of the war to the present time
Changes in number of staff, hours of labor, rates of wages, labor cost and price of fuel, stated in percentages as well as in definite amounts

*Latest date available.

APPENDIX C

Report of the Present Condition of Works and Contracts

I

(Books published and on sale)

Editor	*Author*	*Subject*
Lord Courtney of Penwith	A Diplomatist	Nationalism and war in the Near East
Westergaard	Drachmann	The industrial development and commercial policies of the three Scandinavian countries
Westergaard	Bodart	Losses of life in modern wars
Westergaard	Kellogg	Military selection and race deterioration
Westergaard	Prinzing	Epidemics resulting from wars
Gide	Girault	The colonial tariff policy of France
Philippovich	Grunzel	Economic protectionism
Kinley	Munro	The five republics of Central America
Kinley	Glasson	Federal military pensions in the United States

II

(Works completed but withheld)

Editor	*Author*	*Subject*
Reinsch	Hornbeck	The open door policy in China
Philippovich	Drachovsky	Foreign loans in Austria

III

(Works in process of printing or ready for it)

Editor	*Author*	*Subject*
Philippovich	Bodart	History of the causes of war, etc.
Reinsch	Wallace	The open door policy
Brentano	Gerloff	Military budgets from 1872, etc., for Germany
Kinley	Luitwieler	Effects of the present European War on the industry, commerce and finance of Bolivia
Kinley	Roorbach	The effects of the present European War on the industry, commerce and finance of Venezuela
Kinley	Wheless	The effects of the present European War on the industry, commerce and finance of Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay
Kinley	Cuevas	The industrial and commerical development and policy of Chile with special reference to commercial relations with and policy towards other American countries
Kinley	Many authors	Preliminary ecomomic studies of the war (see page 81 for titles and authors)
Borel	Geering	Influence of the war of 1870–1871 on Switzerland
Clark	Westergaard	The development of social ideas in Denmark
Gide	Coquet	The advantage in standardizing the legislation of the different countries with regard to the repression of false indications of origin
Westergaard	Dumas	Losses of life as a result of war
Kinley	Porritt	Fiscal and diplomatic freedom of the British overseas dominions

Editor	*Author*	*Subject*
Gide	Dumas	Right of capture. Volume II
Westergaard	Heckscher	The continental system. A study in the history of commercial warfare
Greven	J. van der Flier	The costs of the present war for The Netherlands, direct and indirect, and its effects on the condition of the several classes of the people
Kinley	Robertson	The relations of the United States and Latin American nations, historically considered
Reinsch	Levermore	Socialism and the World War. Volume I

IV

(Works in process of translation, or waiting to be translated)

Editor	*Author*	*Subject*
Philippovich	Fellner	Ratio between the total income of the Austrian and Hungarian population and the total expenditure on armaments
Philippovich	von Kesslitz	Financial burdens caused by armaments in recent times in Austria-Hungary
Brentano	Möller	Effects of war, with reference to Germany
Kinley	Fontecha	The economic conditions and effects of foreign fiscal concessions in Honduras
Kinley	Fontecha	Financial conditions and social, economic and political effects of foreign fiscal concessions in Costa Rica
Kinley	Subercaseaux	Monetary and banking conditions in Chile
La Fontaine	Marinus	Unifying effects of the improvement and extension of all meansof communication

V

(Works completed and in hands of members of Committee of Research)

Editor	*Author*	*Subject*
Philippovich	Slokar	Influence of the national idea and of the economic protective policy of Austria-Hungary on the relation between the monarchy and the Balkan States
Reinsch	Chen Huang-Chen	Chinese theory in regard to war and peace

VI

(Works overdue and delayed by the war)

Editor	*Author*	*Subject*
Brentano	Kuczynski	Influence of changes in the occupations of a people upon the composition and efficiency of armies, etc.
Philippovich	Stiassney	War loans in Austria, etc.
Luzzatti	Luzzatti	Protectionist system in its relations with the great armaments, etc.
Westergaard	Cohn	Effects of war on the economy of the Scandinavian countries
Westergaard	Jensen	Production of the Scandinavian countries
von Wieser	Perels	Development of the international relations of the Austrian cotton trade
von Wieser	Grunwald	Taxation laws as influenced by the international relations of Austrian economics
von Wieser	von Mises	International relations of Austrian manufacturers
von Wieser	Steinitzer	Austrian money market as influenced by the money markets of the world
von Wieser	Klofetz	Austrian transport system as influenced by the international relations of Austrian economics
von Wieser	Bartsch	Austrian civil law as influenced by the international relations of Austrian economics

Editor	*Author*	*Subject*
von Wieser	Weiss	Development of the international relations of the Austrian sugar trade
von Wieser	Deutsch	Austrian labor and laborers and the international relations pertaining thereto
von Wieser	Pribram	International relations of Austrian economics in the first part of the nineteenth century
La Fontaine	de Greef	Unifying influences of international life under the title "La paix, ses conditions et son organisation"
von Wieser	Schüller and Čŏkorac	Protectionist policy in Austria, its origin and development
von Wieser	Drucker	Development of the international relations of the Austrian iron trade
Philippovich	Drachovsky	General classification of war loans
von Wieser	Crombach	Development of the international relations of the Austrian petroleum trade
Borel	Steiger	Financial, economic and moral influences of the military system in Switzerland
Borel	Geering	Economic development of Switzerland as a neutral state
Philippovich	Ferrero	General considerations of the causes of wars in recent times
Philippovich	Kaufmann	Rivalry among the great European Powers with regard to capital investments in Turkey
Greven	Tasman	Military conditions in The Netherlands
Borel	Landmann	War loans in neutral countries; their importance and their influence on wars in modern times; Switzerland
Westergaard	Ehrlich	The effects of the Balkan war in sociological and judicial aspects, with special regard to Albania
Gide	de Lapradelle	Effects of wars upon the world's supply of provisions and raw materials—France
Gide	Lescure	The banks in time of war—France
Greven	Nieboer	The influence of Dutch rule upon the economic and social life of the natives in the Dutch East Indies during the nineteenth century
Gide	Picard	The military budgets in France since 1872
Brentano	Gerloff	Marine budgets from 1872. The burden of armaments in recent times; the German Empire
Brentano	Landsberg	Economic effects of withdrawing young men from industrial pursuits into the army and navy, especially mercenary troops
Philippovich	Tobisch	Technical development of the industries of war; their present state and their effect on the promotion and encouraging of other industries, in Austria-Hungary
von Wieser	Priester and Stransky	The development of the international relations of the Austrian petroleum trade
Paish	Miss Hirst	The Society of Friends: war and peace
Brentano	Bajkitsch	The Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913
Kinley	Sutton	The economic, social and political effects of granting concessions (industrial, mining, etc.), to foreigners, on the countries granting such concessions, and the influence thereof on international relations
Kinley	Wei	Concessions to foreign capitalists in China
Hirst	John A. Hobson	The effects of the war on production and distribution of wealth in Great Britain
Hirst	Margaret E. Hirst	The social and economic effects of the war in England with special reference to women and children
Hirst	Mary Agnes Hamilton	The extension of bureaucracy and of bureaucratic control during the war in England, and its after effects
Hirst	George Young	Economic policy and modern diplomacy

VII

(Works unfinished and delayed indefinitely because of the war)

Editor	*Author*	*Subject*
Philippovich	Neurath	The effects of the Balkan wars on Austria-Hungary, with special regard to Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Russia, Montenegro, Albania, Italy, Germany, Switzerland. Parts I and II
Philippovich	Marek	History of Austrian war loans in the nineteenth century
Philippovich	Neurath	War and order of life. The liquidity, productivity and rentability of the wealth of nations in case of war
Westergaard	Neurath	Preliminary statistical studies in old Serbia
Philippovich	Slokar	Annexation of Bosnia; its causes and effects
Westergaard	Bajkitsch	Statistical observations and investigations as to the losses of life in the last Balkan wars and as to the fluctuations of the civil population in consequence of the wars
Johnson	Johnson	Attitude of the business classes of the United States toward war and peace
Gide	Faure	Sickness and mortality in the French army
Gide	Delaisi	Attitude of anarchists and syndicalists toward war and armaments

VIII

(Works under contract, not yet due)

Editor	*Author*	*Date due*	*Subject*
Kinley	Kellogg	Conclusion of war	Biological effects of the present war
Greven	Miss E. C. VanDorp		The different commercial policies and the effect of these policies on the foreign trade and mutual relations of states
Greven	Kleyburg		The public control of industry, agriculture and commerce during the war in the Netherlands, and the tendency of these (quasi-socialistic) measures to prolong themselves into a time of peace
Gide	Girault	Jan. 1, 1920	De la diminution de la population européenne par suite de la guerre et de ses conséquences
Gide	Ruyssen		Le problème des nationalités et les origines de la guerre
Gide	Hoschilles		La pousée des nations vers la mer comme cause économique des guerres
Clark	Gide		Mesures prises par les pouvoirs publics en France contre la hausse des prix et la disette résultant de la guerre
Westergaard	Bodart	May 1, 1921	Losses of men and the strength of mobilization, armies and navies, in the World War, 1914–1918
Shotwell	Young	Aug. 1, 1920	The economic and social history of Portugal as affected by the war
Shotwell	Jenkinson	Sept. 1, 1920	The documents of contemporary history: a manual for the administration of archives, with special reference to the History of the War
Shotwell	Hirst		Chronicle of the World War

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IX

(Works authorized, but contracts not yet received)

Editor	*Author*	*Subject*
Pantaleoni	Emanuelle Sella	International activities of governments brought about by the war and the effects they produce during the war, as well as those which they may be expected to produce if they prolong themselves into a time of peace
Pantaleoni	Giuo Borgatta	The economic action of the state in Italy during the war and its consequences.
Luzzatti	Luigi Luzzatti	1. The financial budget of Italy before, during and after the war 2. The economic condition of Italy and its capacity to support war's expenses 3. The comparison of financial and economic conditions of Italy with other belligerent states 4. The accords of financial and economic character between allies after the war
Westergaard	Gósta Bagge	Socialism or quasi-socialism in modern European states (principally Scandinavian countries) in consequence of the present world conflict

Preliminary Economic Studies of the War

Edited by Dr. David Kinley

(Published Works)

Author	*Subject*
Adam Shortt	Early economic effects of the European War upon Canada
L. S. Rowe	Early effects of the European War upon the finance, commerce and industry of Chile
Frank H. Dixon and J. H. Parmelee	War administration of the railways Second edition of above, with supplemental chapters
Irene Osgood Andrews	Economic effects of the war upon women and children in Great Britain
Ernest L. Bogart	Direct costs of the present war
William F. Gephart	Effects of the war upon insurance with special reference to the substitution of insurance for pensions
Frank L. McVey	Financial history of Great Britain
John A. Fairlie	British war administration
J. Russell Smith	Influence of the Great War upon shipping
Thomas Nixon Carver	War thrift
Benjamin H. Hibbard	Effects of the war upon agriculture
Edward T. Devine	Disabled soldiers and sailors—Pensions and training
Thomas Nixon Carver	Control of the liquor business in Great Britain and the United States
Matthew B. Hammond	British labor conditions and legislation during the war
B. M. Anderson, Jr.	Effects of the war on money, credit and banking in France and the United States
Emmett J. Scott	Negro migration during the war
L. S. Rowe	Early effects of the war upon the finance, commerce and industry of Peru
Ernest L Bogart	Direct and indirect costs of the Great World War
Simon Litman	Prices and price control in Great Britain and the United States
John Franklin Crowell	Government war contracts

(Works in Press)

Author	*Subject*
C. H. Haring	The Germans in South America—A contribution to the economic history of the war
Charles Whiting Baker	Government control and operation of industry in Great Britain and the United States
Irene Osgood Andrews	Revised study on economic effects of the war upon women and children in Great Britain

(Works under Contract)

Author	*Subject*
Edith Abbott	Effects of the war on pauperism, crime and programs of social welfare
E. W. Kemmerer	Monetary conditions in war times in India, Mexico and the Philippines
E. M. Kayden	Cooperative movement in Russia

DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

To the Executive Committee:

Since the organization of the Division of International Law in 1911, the undersigned, as its Director, has endeavored to make known the work of the two Hague Peace Conferences by placing their labors and their results before the public; to show how certain phases of the work of the Conferences should be developed, and to suggest an agreement on fundamental principles of justice calculated to facilitate the work of the Conferences, a work which he considers essential to a scheme of international organization.

These matters seemed to him to be a necessary preparation for a third conference of the nations at The Hague, which should have met, in accordance with the recommendation of the second conference, in 1915, and which doubtless would have met on or about that date but for the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum of July 23, 1914, to Serbia, and the declarations of war which grew out of it, directly involving twenty-seven nations in war, and causing four nations to break off diplomatic relations with one or the other of the belligerents, and profoundly affecting even those nations which were able to maintain neutrality.

Actual hostilities ceased by armistices accorded by their respective enemies to: Bulgaria, September 29, 1918; Turkey, October 31, 1918; Austria-Hungary, November 3, 1918; and Germany, November 11, 1918.

A conference of the Powers with which Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Germany and Turkey had been at war, or which had been obliged to sever diplomatic relations with those Powers, met at Paris, January 18, 1919, and they concluded a series of treaties, of which the first, with Germany, may be taken as an example, as it was the model of the treaties subsequently concluded with the erstwhile belligerents.

This treaty, called the Treaty of Versailles, at which place it was signed June 28, 1919, by the representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers and of the Republic of Germany, was ratified according to its provisions by three of the principal Allied and Associated Powers and Germany. The ratifications of these Powers, and of such others which had also ratified it, were deposited on January 10, 1920, putting the Treaty of Versailles into effect for such Powers as had deposited their ratifications.

"A treaty of peace," says a great authority, "is an agreement to waive all discussion concerning the respective rights of the parties, and to bury in oblivion all the original causes of the war." (Lord Stowell in *The Eliza Ann*, 1813, 1 Dodson's

Reports 244, 249.) Congresses and conferences which have met to end the wars to which groups of nations had been parties have ordinarily confined themselves to such provisions as were necessary to restore peace between the belligerents. In the present instance, however, the Conference of Paris sought not only to impose terms upon the enemy, but also to agree upon the means of preserving the peace which had been created, and of preventing a recourse to arms in the future, both between the belligerents and the other nations of the world; in other words, to superimpose upon the Congress of Vienna a Peace Conference of The Hague. This procedure was as difficult as it was novel, inasmuch as the war congress and the peace conference are animated by different purposes. The war congress is dominated by the victor who seeks to impose his will upon the vanquished, in which process the sword thrown upon the scales outweighs justice. This is inevitably so, because the representatives of the Powers at war meet in an atmosphere of passion, and in which they seek, and necessarily so, the interests of their various countries irrespective of the nations which have not been parties to the war. The peace conference of the type of The Hague meets in an atmosphere of peace, when the sword sleeps in the scabbard, and the representatives of the nations, not unmindful of their special interests, nevertheless consider projects in the light of their bearing upon the nations at large.

Sooner or later, the Director believes a conference of the Powers will necessarily meet in time of peace to consider questions of peace and its preservation. Whether it be a conference meeting at The Hague or elsewhere, it will, leaving the Conference at Paris aside, return to the Hague Conferences and, upon the foundations of the First Hague Conference of 1899 and the Second Hague Conference of 1907, begin again the work of international organization based upon justice and its passionless administration. The incompatibility of a Congress of Vienna and a Peace Conference of The Hague composed of one and the same members sitting at one and the same time, to end a series of wars and to devise a series of conventions to preserve not merely the peace between and among the belligerents, but among all nations, has been felt in many quarters. By none has it been more keenly or more forcibly expressed, than by the President of the Endowment, under whose presidency and upon whose initiative the American Society of International Law, carrying into effect his views, unanimously:

> *Resolved*, That the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law urges upon the Conference at Paris the adoption of a provision by which there shall be called a general conference of the Powers to meet not less than two years nor more than five years after the signing of this convention for the purpose of reviewing the condition of international law, and of agreeing upon and stating in authoritative form the principles and rules thereof; and that thereafter, regular conferences for that purpose shall be called and held at stated times.

The American Commission to the Conference, to which this resolution was conveyed, did not urge it upon the Conference and no action of the kind

was taken. A conference of the kind specified will, however, meet, and when it convenes it will take up the work of The Hague, build upon it, and develop it. And when it is in session, it will be aided, it is believed, by the labors of the Division of International Law, which can be considered in the nature of a preparation for such a happy event.

The Director, therefore, deems it advisable to discuss in some detail the preparation for this conference, in which the Division of International Law has been engaged.

Steps Taken to Lay the Labors and the Results of the Hague Conferences Before the Public

It is proper to say, by way of introduction, that the President of the Endowment was Secretary of State during the time of the Second Hague Conference and himself directed the preparations for that Conference in so far as the United States was concerned; that he selected the members of the American Commission and drafted their instructions. It is also proper to state that the late Andrew D. White, an original Trustee of the Endowment, was Chairman of the American Delegation to the First Peace Conference of 1899, and that the instructions to that delegation were drafted by the then accomplished Assistant Secretary of State, David Jayne Hill, at present a member of the Board of Trustees. It is permissible to add in this connection, that the Director was himself a Technical Delegate to the Second Conference.

The first publication of the Division to be mentioned, although not the first in point of time, is, therefore, the little volume in both French and English, entitled *Instructions to the American Delegates to the Hague Peace Conferences and their Official Reports*. It should be stated that the instructions of 1899 advocated arbitration and the formation of a permanant tribunal of judges from whom should be selected "a bench of judges for each particular case." It is pertinent to add, in regard to the instructions to the Second Conference, that the Secretary of State procured the invitation of all the Latin American states which had not been invited to the first, and that he had the Conference postponed from 1906 to 1907, in order that the Hague Conference might not interfere with the labors of the Third Pan American Conference, to be held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906.

In regard to the subject matter of the instructions, it is to be said that the Secretary of State insisted—contrary to the wishes of Germany—on reserving the right to have the question of limitation of armaments considered at the Conference, and he instructed the delegates of the United States to vote in favor of the consideration of this subject, and to do everything they properly could do to promote it. In the next place, the Secretary of State instructed the American Delegation to propose and to urge limitations upon the use of force in the collection of contract debts. As was to be expected, they were likewise instructed to advocate a general treaty of arbitration, and above and beyond all,

the Secretary of State proposed the establishment of a permanent judicial court at The Hague, which still awaits realization, and in the following measured terms:

> The method in which arbitration can be made more effective, so that nations may be more ready to have recourse to it voluntarily and to enter into treaties by which they bind themselves to submit to it, is indicated by observation of the weakness of the system now apparent. There can be no doubt that the principal objection to arbitration rests not upon the unwillingness of nations to submit their controversies to impartial arbitration, but upon an apprehension that the arbitrations to which they submit may not be impartial. It has been a very general practice for arbitrators to act, not as judges deciding questions of fact and law upon the record before them under a sense of judicial responsibility, but as negotiators effecting settlements of the questions brought before them in accordance with the traditions and usages and subject to all the considerations and influences which affect diplomatic agents. The two methods are radically different, proceed upon different standards of honorable obligation, and frequently lead to widely differing results. It very frequently happens that a nation which would be very willing to submit its differences to an impartial judicial determination is unwilling to subject them to this kind of diplomatic process. If there could be a tribunal which would pass upon questions between nations with the same impartial and impersonal judgment that the Supreme Court of the United States gives to questions arising between citizens of the different States, or between foreign citizens and the citizens of the United States, there can be no doubt that nations would be much more ready to submit their controversies to its decision than they are now to take the chances of arbitration. It should be your effort to bring about in the Second Conference a development of the Hague tribunal into a permanent tribunal composed of judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility. These judges should be so selected from the different countries that the different systems of law and procedure and the principal languages shall be fairly represented. The court should be made of such dignity, consideration, and rank that the best and ablest jurists will accept appointment to it, and that the whole world will have absolute confidence in its judgments.[1]

As to the procedure which they should follow, and as to the results which they should seek to obtain, the Secretary of State used the following language, which was pronounced by the late Louis Renault—certainly a competent authority—to be *la sagesse elle-même*, and as applicable to the Conference of Paris of 1919 as to the Conference of The Hague of 1907:

> It is not expedient that you should be limited by too rigid instructions upon the various questions which are to be discussed, for such a course, if pursued generally with all the delegates, would make the discussion useless and the Conference a mere formality. You will, however, keep in

[1] *Instructions to the American Delegates to The Hague Peace Conferences and Their Official Reports*, Carnegie Endowment. James Brown Scott, Editor (1916), pp. 79–80.

mind the following observations regarding the general policy of the United States upon these questions:

1. In the discussions upon every question it is important to remember that the object of the Conference is agreement, and not compulsion. If such Conferences are to be made occasions for trying to force nations into positions which they consider against their interests, the Powers can not be expected to send representatives to them. It is important also that the agreements reached shall be genuine and not reluctant. Otherwise they will inevitably fail to receive approval when submitted for the ratification of the Powers represented. Comparison of views and frank and considerate explanation and discussion may frequently resolve doubts, obviate difficulties, and lead to real agreement upon matters which at the outset have appeared insurmountable. It is not wise, however, to carry this process to the point of irritation. After reasonable discussion, if no agreement is reached, it is better to lay the subject aside, or refer it to some future Conference in the hope that intermediate consideration may dispose of the objections. Upon some questions where an agreement by only a part of the Powers represented would in itself be useful, such an agreement may be made, but it should always be with the most unreserved recognition that the other Powers withhold their concurrence with equal propriety and right.

The immediate results of such a Conference must always be limited to a small part of the field which the more sanguine have hoped to see covered; but each successive Conference will make the positions reached in the preceding Conference its point of departure, and will bring to the consideration of further advances toward international agreements opinions affected by the acceptance and application of the previous agreements. Each Conference will inevitably make further progress and, by successive steps, results may be accomplished which have formerly appeared impossible.

You should keep always in mind the promotion of this continuous process through which the progressive development of international justice and peace may be carried on; and you should regard the work of the Second Conference, not merely with reference to the definite results to be reached in that Conference, but also with reference to the foundations which may be laid for further results in future Conferences. It may well be that among the most valuable services rendered to civilization by this Second Conference will be found the progress made in matters upon which the delegates reach no definite agreement.

With this view you will favor the adoption of a resolution by the Conference providing for the holding of further Conferences within fixed periods and arranging the machinery by which such Conferences may be called and the terms of the program may be arranged, without awaiting any new and specific initiative on the part of the Powers or any one of them.[1]

The recommendation of the Second Hague Conference for the meeting of a third Hague Conference after an interval which would bring it approximately in 1915, with a preparatory commission to arrange its labors appointed two years in advance, was the direct outcome of the Secretary of State's instruction and the triumph of the first American Delegate, the late Honorable Joseph H. Choate, an original Trustee and Vice President of this Endowment.

[1] *Instructions to the American Delegates to The Hague Peace Conferences and Their Official Reports*, Carnegie Endowment. James Brown Scott, Editor (1916), pp. 71–72.

Upon his return from the Conference, the Director, then Solicitor for the Department of State, issued a volume containing the texts of the Hague Conventions, to which the then Secretary of State, the present President of the Endowment, contributed the following prefatory note, which should be placed side by side with the above quoted passage from his instructions:

> In the letter submitting The Hague Conventions of 1907 for consideration by the Senate, the Secretary of State said:
>
> "Let me go beyond the limits of the customary formal letter of transmittal and say that I think the work of the Second Hague Conference, which is mainly embodied in these Conventions, presents the greatest advance ever made at any single time toward the reasonable and peaceful regulation of international conduct, unless it be the advance made at The Hague Conference of 1899.
>
> "The most valuable result of the Conference of 1899 was that it made the work of the Conference of 1907 possible. The achievements of the Conferences justify the belief that the world has entered upon an orderly process through which, step by step, in successive Conferences, each taking the work of its predecessor as its point of departure, there may be continual progress toward making the practice of civilized nations conform to their peaceful professions."
>
> The collection of documents in this volume brings into relief a fact which should affect our judgment regarding all of the attempts in recent years to secure international agreement upon matters affecting peace and war; this fact is that each attempt is to be considered, not by itself alone, but as part of a series in which sound proposals may come to general acceptance only by a very gradual process extending through many years. For example, Dr. Francis Lieber's Instructions for the Government of the Army of the United States in the Field, prepared for President Lincoln and embodied by him in General Order No. 100 of the year 1863, has now developed, after forty-four years, into the universal "Convention regarding the laws and customs of land warfare," signed at the last Hague Conference. The three rules of the Treaty of Washington, agreed upon by the United States and Great Britain, in 1871, are now accepted by the civilized world, in 1907, in The Hague "Convention respecting the rights and duties of neutral powers in naval war."
>
> The question about each international conference is not merely what it has accomplished, but also what it has begun, and what it has moved forward. Not only the conventions signed and ratified, but the steps taken toward conclusions which may not reach practical and effective form for many years to come, are of value. Some of the resolutions adopted by the last conference do not seem to amount to very much by themselves, but each one marks on some line of progress the farthest point to which the world is yet willing to go. They are like cable ends buoyed in mid-ocean, to be picked up hereafter by some other steamer, spliced, and continued to shore. The greater the reform proposed, the longer must be the process required to bring many nations differing widely in their laws, customs, traditions, interests, prejudices, into agreement. Each necessary step in the process is as useful as the final act which crowns the work and is received with public celebration.[1]

[1] *Texts of the Peace Conferences at The Hague, 1899 and 1907, with English translation and Appendix of Related Documents.* James Brown Scott, Editor (1908), pp. iii-iv.

In 1909, the year following, and but a year before the organization of the Endowment, the Director issued two volumes: the first containing a series of lectures on the Hague Peace Conferences delivered before the Johns Hopkins University in the year 1908, and the second being a volume of documents containing in addition to the texts of the conventions, the instructions to and the reports from the American delegates to the Conferences. The first of these two volumes has been translated into French by Monsieur Albert A. G. de Lapradelle, Professor of International Law in the University of Paris. It will shortly be issued from the Clarendon Press over the imprint of the Endowment.

The publications tending to popularize the labors of the Conference, originally issued by the Endowment, deserve particular attention.

The first to be mentioned in this connection is the series of volumes containing the texts of the conventions. The first contains the original French text; the second, the English translation, and the third, the Spanish translation thereof. These volumes have been found very useful, especially the one containing the English translation; which is already in its third edition.

The greatest of care was taken to secure accuracy both of the text of the conventions and of the reservations made by the Powers participating in the Conferences. Sometimes in the sessions of the Conferences, other times at the signing, and, in one instance—that of the United States—a reservation to the most important of the conventions of the Second Hague Peace Conference—the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes—was made by the Senate of the United States, incorporated in the instrument of ratification and deposited with the ratifications at The Hague. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Netherlands, custodian of the French texts, certified to their correctness, and the Department of State of the United States certified the accuracy of the English translations of the texts as ratified by the Senate of the United States.

Valuable as are collections of texts of the conventions and declarations of the Peace Conferences, they are not alone sufficient to enable the reader to understand the exact nature and import of these documents. In each case they were preceded by debates and discussions, and were generally, if not always, the result of compromise, which is the life and breath of diplomatic conferences. In such assemblies there is, in addition to a president and a secretary of the Conference and of its sections, an official known as a *Rapporteur*. This person is a member of the commission for which he is appointed *Rapporteur*. He is an expert in the subject matter of the commission by which he is designated to prepare and report its labors, setting forth the discussions, explaining the different views expressed and stating the meaning which the commission attached to the text as adopted. The report itself is adopted by the commission at the same time as the text of the resolutions, and the conference in approving the conventions and declarations approves at one and the same time the reports accompanying and explaining them.

It is, therefore, necessary to a correct understanding of the conventions and

declarations of an international conference, that the texts thereof be accompanied by the reports which, in reality, are part and parcel of them. Therefore, upon the Director's recommendation, the Executive Committee authorized the publication of the *Reports to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907*, "being the official explanatory and interpretative commentary accompanying the draft conventions and declarations submitted to the Conferences by the several commissions charged with preparing them, together with the texts of the Final Acts, conventions and declarations as signed, and of the principal proposals offered by the delegations of the various Powers as well as of other documents laid before the commissions." This work, a quarto volume of almost one thousand pages, has appeared in two editions: English for the English public, and French for the technical reader.

But indispensable as are the *Reports*, and the volume containing them, it is often desirable to refer to the *Proceedings of the Conferences*, as distinct from the *Reports*, inasmuch as the *Rapporteur* must rely upon these *Proceedings*, and the résumé which he makes of them is only valuable in so far as it is accurate. The student of the Hague Conferences should have at his disposal the entire *Proceedings*. They are in French and they are very cumbersome. The *Proceedings of the First Conference of 1899* were in four parts, forming a large volume which was, for the convenience of the delegates of the two Conferences, reprinted on India paper. The Proceedings of the Second Conference were published in three enormous volumes. The proceedings of the two Conferences, therefore, form four volumes of large quarto, of more than four thousand pages.

The official language of international conferences is French, and as no English translation of these volumes had been made, or if made, had appeared, the Department of State of the United States requested the Endowment to translate them and to publish them in convenient form. The request of the Department of State was approved by the Executive Committee; the translations have been made; the first two volumes published, and the remaining two are in press.

A very important project of the Hague Conferences, and perhaps their most important contribution, is the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, adopted by the First Conference and revised by the Second in the light of experience had in the interval between the two. This convention declared the arbitration of judicial questions, especially those concerning the interpretation and application of international treaties and conventions, to be the most equitable method of settling disputes between nations which diplomacy had failed to adjust. And to put into practice this declaration, the Conference of 1899 created the so-called Permanent Court of Arbitration, which is, in reality, a panel of judges—each ratifying Power having the right to appoint not more than four persons for a period of six years, versed in international law and willing to accept appointment as judges and to act as such. These persons have been entered into a list called the Panel of the Permanent Court, and from this list or panel a temporary tribunal is appointed by agreement of the parties or by a prescribed method when they failed to agree upon the personnel of the tribunal.

In the court, from its creation in 1899, fifteen cases have been submitted to and decided by temporary tribunals; and it is interesting to recall that the first of these was created in 1902 for the decision of the so-called Pious Fund Case, a dispute between Mexico and the United States which, as is well known, was referred to a temporary tribunal of The Hague for the express purpose of inaugurating its sessions. In 1910, the long outstanding controversy between Great Britain and the United States in the matter of the North Atlantic Fisheries was presented to and decided by a temporary tribunal at The Hague. The negotiations were conducted by the President of the Endowment, then Secretary of State, and he appeared as Chief Counsel for the United States before the tribunal in the summer of 1910. In addition to arbitrations properly so called, a Commission of Inquiry was appointed in accordance with the provisions of the Pacific Settlement Convention, which settled in 1905 the dispute between Great Britain and Russia known as the Dogger Bank Dispute, which at one time not only embittered the relations of the two countries, but seemed likely to be the cause of war between them.

In pursuance of the policy to make known the work of the Hague Conferences, the Director, with the approval of the Executive Committee, collected and published the texts of these various decisions in a volume of approximately seven hundred and seventy-five pages. Each case is preceded by a syllabus, the diplomatic correspondence necessary to understand the facts is reproduced, and the decision itself given in English in the body of the book and in the original language in an appendix.

Development of the Hague Conferences

At the Second Hague Conference an attempt was made, pursuant to Mr. Root's instructions, to secure the establishment of a permanent and judicial court of justice, as distinct from the so-called Permanent Court of Arbitration. In pursuance of these instructions, the American delegation presented such a project. It was adopted in principle and a draft convention of thirty-two articles was drawn up and adopted, dealing with the jurisdiction and procedure of such a court.

It was found impossible in the limited time at the disposal of the Conference to agree upon the method, generally acceptable to the members, of appointing the judges and thus to constitute the court. The Conference, therefore, adopted the draft convention and recommended to the signatory Powers that it be put into effect as soon as an agreement should be reached upon the method of appointing the judges, and upon the constitution of the court.

Decisions of prize courts are in fact, if not in theory, the decisions of national courts; and it is natural that the court of the captor should resolve any doubts as to the validity of the capture, or as to the practice involved, in favor of the country whereof the judge is a subject or citizen. Prize decisions have, therefore, been the source of dissatisfaction to the other belligerents and to neutral countries

whose rights have been involved and the property of whose subjects or citizens has been adjudged lawful prize. This was especially so in the Russo-Japanese War, and the German and British delegations to the Second Hague Conference presented projects for the establishment of an international court of prize which was eventually adopted, in which France and the United States joined. The result was the drafting of a convention for such a court and its adoption by the Conference.

There was one serious difficulty. Where there was a general agreement upon a principle of law, or where there was a treaty or a convention between the Powers at issue, the court had the law before it to decide the case; but in the absence of such agreement, treaty or convention, the court was permitted by Article VII of the Convention to decide according to the general principles of justice and equity.

Although the British delegation had proposed this solution of the difficulty, there was much opposition to it in that country, with the result that the British Government was either unwilling or unable to ratify the Prize Court Convention unless and until an agreement had been reached upon the law to be applied under Article VII. A Conference of ten Powers met at London on December 4, 1908, upon the invitation of Great Britain and adjourned in February of the following year, having adopted the so-called Declaration of London.

Mr. Root, still Secretary of State, availed himself of the opportunity of this conference to propose that the Prize Court, when established, should act as the Court of Arbitral Justice, in accordance with the draft convention of the Hague Conference. The members of the London Naval Conference, however, felt indisposed to take such action, but recommended to their governments the separate establishment of the Court of Arbitral Justice in accordance with the method of the Prize Court.

Just as the Division of International Law has published the decisions of the so-called Permanent Court of Arbitration of The Hague, so it has published the Proceedings of the Conference at London, and with the approval of the Executive Committee, the Director has had all the prize decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States since its organization collected for publication. They are at this moment in press, in three volumes.

It is proper to add, in this connection, that the Executive Committee likewise authorized the collection and publication of Chief Justice Marshall's decisions on international law, which could well serve as models for the decisions of a Permanent International Court. The Director was also instructed to have an examination made of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States involving international law. This was done by Professor Eugene Wambaugh, of the Harvard Law School, from whose investigations it appears that some twenty-eight hundred decisions of this august tribunal have directly or indirectly involved or discussed the principles of international law. It has been proposed by the Director that these decisions should be collected, edited and published, so that an International Court, whether it deal with what may be called civil disputes or

prize cases, will have the benefit of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in a multitude of cases, and will have within the compass of a single volume the decisions of Chief Justice Marshall, which are regarded by eminent authorities as the most masterly judgments which have ever been delivered in a court of justice on the subject matter of international law.

The Trustees of the Endowment at a meeting held April 19, 1917, adopted the following resolution recommended to its consideration by the Executive Committee at its meeting on January 4, 1917:

> *Resolved*, That the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace shall make a special effort to overcome the remaining obstacles to the establishment of an International Court of Justice, and to this end the Executive Committee is authorized and directed to take such action and at such time as it may deem proper.

The war between the United States and Germany had been declared on April 6, and no action could be taken in pursuance of this resolution during the existence of hostilities. The resolution itself has been quoted as an express approval of the various steps that had been taken by the Director to accomplish in so far as he could, with the means at his disposal, this purpose.

It may be mentioned that the last act of Mr. Robert Bacon—an honored Trustee, whose untimely death his colleagues deplore—as Secretary of State, was to inform the Powers that a circular note would be addressed to them recommending the establishment of an International Court of Justice.

Secretary Knox, Mr. Bacon's successor, took up the matter and sent the Director, then Solicitor for the Department of State, to Paris, where, at a conference of representatives of France, Germany and Great Britain, an agreement was reached on March 18, 1910, upon the establishment of the Arbitral Court of Justice, when the Prize Court should itself be established, as then appeared probable, inasmuch as the Declaration of London seemed to supply the law for Article VII of the Prize Court Convention to the satisfaction of the British Government.

For reasons which are not necessary to be set forth in this connection, opposition developed to such an extent in Great Britain against the Declaration of London that the government was either unwilling or unable to secure its adoption, or rather the legislation necessary to put it into effect. The Senate of the United States, upon the initiative of Mr. Root, then a Senator from the State of New York, consented to the ratification of the Prize Court Convention, and of the Declaration of London, and the United States, therefore, stood ready at any moment to adopt ratifications of these instruments and to constitute the Prize Court at such time as the other Powers were in a position so to do.

Owing to the failure of Great Britain to ratify the Declaration of London, drafted in a conference which it summoned, to supply the law for Article VII, which Article had been proposed by the British delegation to the Second Hague Peace Conference, the Prize Court has not been established.

An International Court of Justice

Having come to the conclusion that the failure to establish the Prize Court should not jeopardize the establishment of the Court of Arbitral Justice, and that because of that failure, the United States was released from the agreement to await the institution of the Prize Court, the Director proposed to Secretary Knox that the Powers be sounded as to their willingness to establish the Court of Arbitral Justice in accordance with the agreement previously reached. The difficulty concerning the exemption of American coast-wise shipping from the payment of tolls in passing through the Panama Canal led to a postponement of negotiations. In the meantime, however, the Director, taking advantage of the meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Institute of International Law at The Hague in January, 1914, presented a memorandum, under date of January 12, 1914, to Mr. Loudon, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of The Netherlands, concerning the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice. This document proposed that the court be composed of the following nine Powers, with The Hague as the seat of the court: Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Russia and the United States.

The court would thus consist of nine judges, one from each of the Powers mentioned. But it was further provided in the project that the court would be open to any Power that might care to use it, and that such a Power in dispute with a contracting Power would be authorized to appoint a judge to sit with the judges during the trial, and if two noncontracting Powers should use the court, each of the two should appoint a judge. This method would have the advantage of constituting a court of a reasonable number of judges for the states which were desirous of constituting it. The question of equality of the states would thus be eliminated and it would not arise in the case of a noncontracting Power, or indeed of several noncontracting Powers, because in the trial of the cases in which they were interested, each nation in controversy would be upon a plane of equality with its adversary, inasmuch as it would have, during the entire trial and disposition of the case, a judge of its own choice upon the bench. This method of composition is faulty from the theoretical point of view, in that the judges appointed by the litigating parties take part in the decision. This would be a defect in practice if there were but three judges. In case of five judges, the decision would be necessarily reached by judges of countries indifferent to the dispute, provided there were but two litigants. In the case of seven judges, the difficulty would be minimized, and in the case of a court with a personnel of nine judges, the objection would be practically nonexistent, inasmuch as the decision would be in a dispute between two litigants, necessarily decided by at least seven disinterested parties.

The memorandum proposing the constitution of the court with its seat at The Hague appealed to the Netherland Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, after examining it, stated that he would transmit the memorandum with the approval of the Netherland Government, and in behalf of his government

request that the Powers above mentioned should cooperate with The Netherlands in establishing such an International Court of Justice at The Hague.

On July 28, 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war against Serbia. On August 1, Germany declared war against Russia. The world was soon at war, and had other things than courts to think of.

The Director published his memorandum in 1916, under the caption of "An International Court of Justice," and at the same time a monograph entitled "The Status of the International Court of Justice," with an appendix of treaties and official documents. Two years later they were translated into French, and issued in a single volume.

Had not the World War broken out, it is believed that the court would have been established according to this method, inasmuch as each of the Powers in question had, on various occasions, expressed itself in favor of the court.

It is futile to speculate as to the course of events if an international court of justice had been in being at The Hague upon the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy on June 28, 1914, which was the pretext if not the cause of the war. As practical people we can not afford to speculate with "if's." It was not in existence But it will be. And the future will have an opportunity of witnessing the effect of an international court of justice upon disputes between nations, just as every subject or citizen of civilized states has, and has had for centuries, the opportunity of experiencing the beneficent effects of a court of justice in being.

The Director's experience in discussing at international conferences, and with others interested in the question, the settlement of disputes between nations by judicial procedure, is that many people in official and private life are inclined to consider favorably the establishment of an international court of justice; but that they hesitate to commit themselves to a project of a theoretical nature, whereas they would espouse its creation if they were shown that such a court or a prototype of such a court is really in being and that it has shown by its judgments that it can decide disputes between states by the application of principles of justice, as is the case between individual suitors. Experts in international law have been won over. At the meeting of the Institute of International Law at Christiania in 1912, the Director persuaded the late Dr. Lammasch to propose to the Institute that it should approve the principle of a permanent international court of justice, and that it should recommend that it be established. This he did. An animated discussion ensued, and the Institute of International Law unanimously recommended the creation of the court of arbitral justice proposed by the American delegation at the Second Hague Peace Conference.

United States Supreme Court a Prototype of an International Court

For the man of affairs in and out of office, it is necessary to show that such a court can be created because it has been, and that it operates successfully. Therefore, for years past, the Director has examined the reports of the Supreme

Court of the United States, which is the court of the States of the American Union in which State allows itself to be sued by State, and in which every decision rendered by that court in a suit between States has been executed, including the long-drawn-out controversy between Virginia and West Virginia. He has gathered together the eighty-odd cases of suits between States and, with the approval of the Executive Committee, they have been published. The cases themselves have been preceded by certain decisions of the Supreme Court showing the nature of the United States and the relation of the States to the Union, which we call the United States, and to each other; a series of cases defining judicial power, judicial control over constitutionality of legislative acts, the distinction between judicial and political power, and the process by which political become justiciable questions.

The Director has also with the approval of the Executive Committee, published in a separate volume an Analysis of these cases in narrative form.

An International Court of Justice would necessarily be a court of limited jurisdiction. The convention creating it would define this jurisdiction, and the court would, as does the Supreme Court, necessarily consider upon the threshold whether or not it could properly take jurisdiction of the case presented to it. Such a court would pass upon the question of jurisdiction, whether it was raised by one or the other of the parties, as does the Supreme Court, and a State, therefore, in controversy with another State could file its complaint with the International Court of Justice and request the defendant state to present its answer and to appear by counsel upon a given date. Should the defendant refuse to answer or to appear, the plaintiff state could and doubtless would, in accordance with the procedure of the Supreme Court, proceed *ex parte*, putting in its evidence, presenting and arguing a principle of justice or a rule of law believed to be applicable to the solution of the controversy. The court would not render judgment by default, but would decide upon the evidence presented and in accordance with the principles of justice.

No decision of the Supreme Court in a suit between States has been executed against a State, and it is believed that public opinion, which compels compliance within a union of forty-eight States, would compel compliance within the larger union which we call the Society of Nations.

Due process of law would thus obtain between state and state as it does between man and man. The controversy embittering foreign relations and rendering a resort to war easier, if it does not create it, would be presented to the court by the chief party in interest, which thereupon becomes the plaintiff state. The method of procedure defined by the Supreme Court enables the entire case, freed from technicalities, to be laid before the tribunal; and public opinion would have before it a judgment rendered in the open, in accordance with the evidence and with principles of justice stated, defined, and applied by judges by profession, sworn to administer justice.

The Director would call especial attention to the process by which political become justiciable questions, inasmuch as the creation of an international court

with a limited jurisdiction would enable question after question, by agreement of the parties, to become justiciable and thus be decided by courts of justice.

Given the fundamental importance of this question, a portion of the judgment of Mr. Justice Baldwin, dealing therewith, is quoted from the State of Rhode Island v. State of Massachusetts (1838).[1]

> The founders of our government could not but know, what has ever been and is familiar to every statesman and jurist, that all controversies between nations, are, in this sense, political, and not judicial, as none but the sovereign can settle them. . . . None can be settled without war or treaty, which is by political power; but under the old and new confederacy they could and can be settled by a court constituted by themselves, as their own substitutes, authorized to do that for states, which states alone could do before. We are thus pointed to the true boundary line between political and judicial power, and questions. A sovereign decides by his own will, which is the supreme law within his own boundary; a court, or judge, decides according to the law prescribed by the sovereign power, and that law is the rule for judgment. The submission by the sovereigns, or states, to a court of law or equity, of a controversy between them, without prescribing any rule of decision, gives power to decide according to the appropriate law of the case; which depends on the subject matter, the source and nature of the claims of the parties, and the law which governs them. From the time of such submission, the question ceases to be a political one to be decided by the *sic volo, sic jubeo*, of political power; it comes to the court to be decided by its judgment, legal discretion, and solemn consideration of the rules of law appropriate to its nature as a judicial question, depending on the exercise of judicial power; as it is bound to act by known and settled principles of national or municipal jurisprudence, as the case requires. . . .
>
> These considerations lead to the definition of political and judicial power and questions; the former is that which a sovereign or state exerts by his or its own authority, as reprisal and confiscation; the latter is that which is granted to a court or judicial tribunal. So of controversies between states; they are in their nature political, when the sovereign or state reserves to itself the right of deciding on it; makes it the "subject of a treaty, to be settled as between states independent," or "the foundation of representations from state to state." This is political equity, to be adjudged by the parties themselves, as contradistinguished from judicial equity, administered by a court of justice, decreeing the *equum et bonum* of the case, let who or what be the parties before them. . . .

The United States an International Union

It is necessary to point out that the United States is a union of States; that the States created it; that they could exist without the union but that the union could not exist without them; that the States themselves, in convention in Philadelphia in 1787, granted to the union of their own creation certain sovereign powers which they conceived to be in the interest of *all* the States, and reserved to themselves and their people the powers which were not expressly

[1] 12 Peters, 657, 736–738.

granted or granted by necessary implication, or of which they did not renounce the exercise.

We thus have a union of American States, closer and more intimate than the union of the Society of Nations, but in which the component parts were, in the United States, free, sovereign and independent States.

That the American States consider themselves free, sovereign and independent States is evident from the following act of the Colony of Connecticut passed on October 10, 1776, by virtue whereof it severed its relation with Great Britain and established itself as a State in the sense of international law.

TRANSITION FROM COLONY TO COMMONWEALTH IN CONNECTICUT[1]

> The People of this State, being by the Providence of God, free and independent, have the sole and exclusive Right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent State; and having from their Ancestors derived a free and excellent Constitution of Government whereby the Legislature depends on the free and annual Election of the People, they have the best Security for the Preservation of their civil and religious Rights and Liberties. And forasmuch as the free Fruition of such Liberties and Privileges as Humanity, Civility, and Christianity call for, as is due to every Man in his Place and Proportion, without Impeachment and Infringement, hath ever been, and will be the Tranquillity and Stability of Churches and Commonwealths; and the Denial thereof, the Disturbance, if not the Ruin of both.
>
> Paragraph 1. Be it enacted and declared by the Governor, and Council, and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, That the ancient Form of Civil Government, contained in the Charter from Charles the Second, King of England, and adopted by the People of this State, shall be and remain the Civil Constitution of this State, under the sole authority of the People thereof, independent of any King or Prince whatever. And that this Republic is, and shall forever be and remain, a free, sovereign and independent State, by the Name of the STATE OF CONNECTICUT. . . .

It is presumed, therefore, that each of the thirteen States declaring its independence was free, sovereign and independent. We do not, however, need to argue the matter, for they declared in Article II of the Articles of Confederation, adopted by each of the States (the last being Maryland on March 1, 1781), that:

> Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

And finally, the relation created by the Constitution of 1787 between the Union on the one hand, and the States, on the other, is stated before and after the Civil War by two of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court. In the case of *McCulloch* v. *Maryland*,[2] decided in 1819, Mr. Chief Justice Marshall said:

> In America, the powers of sovereignty are divided between the government of the Union, and those of the States. They are each sovereign, with

[1] Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*, Vol. I, 257.
[2] 4 Wheaton, 316, 410.

respect to the objects committed to it, and neither sovereign with respect to the objects committed to the other.

In the case of *Texas* v. *White*,[1] decided in 1868, Mr. Chief Justice Chase said, speaking for the court:

> Under the Articles of Confederation each State retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right not expressly delegated to the United States. Under the Constitution, though the powers of the States were much restricted, still, all powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. And we have already had occasion to remark at this term, that "the people of each State compose a State, having its own government, and endowed with all the functions essential to separate and independent existence," and that "without the States in union, there could be no such political body as the United States." Not only, therefore, can there be no loss of separate and independent autonomy to the States, through their union under the Constitution, but it may be not unreasonably said that the preservation of the States, and the maintenance of their governments, are as much within the design and care of the Constitution as the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the National government. The Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to an indestructible Union, composed of indestructible States.

We are, therefore, dealing with States which, for reasons seeming good and sufficient to them, and which have approved themselves for more than a hundred and thirty years, entered into a union, creating as their agent a government thereof for the exercise of certain sovereign powers whereof they divested themselves in the general interest. The nations composing the Society of Nations can bring themselves into a closer union if they are minded to do so, and can, by the mere formation of a judicial union or a union for judicial purposes, just as they have formed a union for postal purposes, create an international court of justice for their disputes of a justiciable nature. They have before them the model. They have the decisions of the Supreme Court showing that the model has accomplished its purpose and the procedure by which its success has been assured and justice administered.

The nations of the world do not need to discuss whether this can or can not be done; they only need to decide whether they will follow where they do not need to initiate. This seems to us a matter of course, for the reasons stated by the President of this Endowment in the following letter to the Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, written as far back as 1908:

> The extraordinary scope of judicial power in this country has accustomed us to see the operations of government and questions arising between sovereign states submitted to judges who apply the test of conformity to established principles and rules of conduct embodied in our constitutions.
>
> It seems natural and proper to us that the conduct of government affecting substantial rights, and not depending upon questions of policy,

[1] 7 Wallace, 700, 725.

should be passed upon by the courts when occasion arises. It is easy, therefore, for Americans to grasp the idea that the same method of settlement should be applied to questions growing out of the conduct of nations and not involving questions of policy.

Preparations for a Third Hague Conference

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Endowment, held on April 18, 1913, it was—

> *Resolved*, That the formation of the preparatory international committee provided for by the action of the Second Hague Peace Conference to prepare a program for the next Hague Conference should be pressed without delay by our State Department upon the other governments;
>
> *Resolved further*, That the Secretary of State be requested to appoint a committee on behalf of the United States, to consist of not less than five competent persons, to examine the proceedings of the First and Second Conferences, and to prepare a program which might properly be submitted on behalf of the United States to the international preparatory committee.

On the same day, at a meeting of the Executive Committee, held after the adjournment of the Board of Trustees, the following resolution was adopted to carry out the terms of the Board's resolution:

> *Resolved*, That the President and Secretary of the Board of Trustees be, and they are hereby, appointed a committee to present to the Secretary of State the resolutions adopted by the Board of Trustees at their meeting on April 18, 1913, concerning the appointment of the preparatory committees on the program of the next Hague conference, and to present the request therein made.

This action was taken by the Trustees because the time for the meeting of the Third Hague Conference was rapidly approaching, inasmuch as six years had already elapsed since the adjournment of the Second Conference in 1907, and by its decision a Third Conference should meet some eight years after the adjournment of the Second, and a preparatory Committee should be established to meet some two years in advance of the Third Conference, to determine its program and the organization and procedure of the Conference itself. It seemed to the Trustees that there was no time to lose, especially as other Powers were known to have taken action.

The Honorable William Jennings Bryan was then Secretary of State. He was new to the duties of his office, and was busied with his proposed treaties for the advancement of peace; he was not at that time thinking in terms of a Third Conference, but was of the opinion that his treaties should take precedence of any agitation for a permanent court of justice, if such a court were desirable.

In the fall of the year—as nothing appeared to have been done during the spring and summer by the Department of State toward preparation for the

Third Conference—the Executive Committee again considered the question, and in its larger aspects. At its meeting of November 14, 1913, to quote the official minutes:

> The DIRECTOR then brought up for discussion in the Committee the question of preparations by the Governments for the Third Hague Peace Conference. The matter was discussed by the Committee and apprehension was expressed lest the Conference should fail to be called at the appointed time. As the result of the Committee's consideration, the following resolution was adopted:
>
> *Resolved*, That the Director of the Division of International Law be and he is hereby directed to prepare a report to the Executive Committee upon the following matters:
>
> 1. What has been done by the Committee appointed by President Taft to prepare for the Third Hague Conference?
> 2. What steps have been taken by any countries toward the creation of the international preparatory committee provided for by the Second Hague Conference?
> 3. What has been done by way of preparation for the Third Hague Conference by the Institute of International Law?
> 4. What action could the Endowment properly take in connection with the meeting of the Third Hague Conference; more specifically, what action on the part of the Government of the United States would it be useful for the Endowment to propose or urge?
> 5. Recommendations by the Director of the Division of International Law as to the program, organization, procedure, and work of the Third Hague Conference.

The President of the Endowment allowed himself to be persuaded that a letter from him to Secretary Bryan, as coming from a former Secretary of State, would advance the cause which the Trustees had at heart. He therefore addressed the following letter to Secretary Bryan on December 10, 1913:

> A number of gentlemen who are concerned in the administration of the trust established under the title of "The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace," particularly those who took part in the Hague Conferences, are much disturbed by the belief that, owing to the preoccupation of many European Governments in very pressing and important affairs, the preparation which will be necessary for the holding of another conference is not enlisting the official interest in other countries which is desirable. The Trustees have accordingly requested me to ask your consideration of the question whether in some way an impulse can not be given which will result in greater activity of preparation on the part of other Powers.

Mr. Root quoted the recommendation of the Final Act of the Peace Conference of 1907 with reference to the holding of a third conference and the appointment of a preparatory committee and stated that:

> This provision is of especial interest to the United States because the American delegates to the Second Conference made a special point of urging

that the assembling of future conferences should be made automatic and not left to depend upon the future initiative of any Government.

After quoting from his instructions to that effect to the American delegates, Mr. Root continued:

> The United States is accordingly entitled to take an interest in seeing that the provision for future conferences, which it was thus instrumental in securing, is acted upon, and that the practice of holding international conferences, so useful in promoting the peace of the world, shall not lapse into desuetude, but shall become an established international institution.

Mr. Root reminded the Secretary of State that the Final Act of 1907 contemplated another conference to be held about the year 1915; that the preparatory committee, which was to be appointed two years in advance, had not been appointed, although certain countries had appointed separate national committees to consider the subject of the third conference, viz., Denmark, France, Holland, Norway, Sweden and the United States. He expressed the opinion that only through the international preparatory committee, provided for in the Final Act of 1907, could effective steps be taken toward calling the conference and urging an agreement upon procedure and program, and he ventured the suggestion that

> the selection by the United States of its member of the international committee provided for by the Final Act of 1907, and the notification to the other Powers of such appointment, with a request for information as to when it will meet their view to have the committee completed and begin its labors, would call attention to the subject sufficiently to lead to immediate action.[1]

The Director had previously laid before the Secretary of State a memorandum on the subject of the organization of The Hague Conference which he had prepared for presentation to the Interparliamentary Union at its meeting of September, 1913, at The Hague. In so far as the preparatory committee was concerned, the memorandum proposed that the diplomatic representatives at The Hague of the various members of The Hague Conferences should constitute the preparatory committee; that one or more subcommittees could be appointed from these members, to consider the program, the organization and procedure of a Third Conference, which should report to the diplomatic representatives meeting under the presidency of the Netherland Minister of Foreign Affairs; that these diplomatic agents should, in regular course, send these reports to their governments in order to inform them as to what had been done and to receive their comments and criticisms, after which the diplomatic representatives would be in a position to draft a program and to suggest an organization and procedure for a Third Conference in conformity with the suggestions from their various governments.

[1] Report of the Director of the Division of International Law, Year Book, 1913–1914, pp. 122–123.

The foregoing suggestions of the President of the Endowment and Director of the Division of International Law met with the approval of Secretary Bryan, and on January 31, 1914, he sent a circular to the diplomatic officers of the United States accredited to the governments which had taken part in the Second International Peace Conference at The Hague, proposing that a Third Hague Conference be held in the fall of 1915, and that the duties of the international preparatory committee be committed to the Administrative Council of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.[1]

Mr. Bryan's circular bade fair to produce the desired results, for on July 6, 1914, the Netherland Legation at Washington sent to the Department of State a memorandum inviting all the Powers that were represented at the Second Peace Conference to take part in forming the preparatory committee for the Third Conference by appointing a member each or by combining in the appointment of one, the committee to meet at The Hague on June 1, 1915. Definite proposals were further made concerning the procedure and work of the preparatory committee, the whole proposal being submitted as the joint proposal of The Netherlands and Russia, it being stated that the latter government had been broached upon the subject by the former in December, 1913.

During the spring and early summer the Director had many conferences with Secretary Bryan at which the question of the Third Hague Conference was discussed and the steps necessary to be taken by this government were outlined. Mr. Bryan informed the Director that he was to be placed in charge of this work as far as the United States was concerned, and that he would represent it in any preparatory committee or in any similar advisory body which might be formed, a designation which was made a matter of record by a letter from Secretary Bryan to the Director under the date of July 31, 1914.

In pursuance of an oral request from Secretary Bryan, the Director prepared and transmitted to him, under date of July 31, 1914, a memorandum on the Third Hague Conference. The immediate purpose of the memorandum was to comment on the Netherlands-Russian proposal of July 6, 1914; but the greater part of the recommendations are as applicable now to an international peace conference as they were when originally made nearly six years ago. The memorandum is therefore printed as an appendix to this report, page 126. Owing to the war, which, long looming large upon the horizon, had broken out, this memorandum was, unfortunately, the final action in the matter of the Third Hague Conference.

It is proper to remark in this connection that the Director, on his part, took all necessary steps to comply with the resolution of the Executive Committee of November 14, 1913, above quoted. He addressed a circular letter to distinguished publicists whose countries had been represented in the peace conferences, requesting specific information regarding the questions propounded by the Executive Committee. To this letter many important replies were received and are

[1] The full text of the circular is reprinted in the Report of the Director, Year Book, 1913–1914, p. 124.

now on file in the Division. In addition, a bibliography of book and periodical literature touching the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, as well as the Third Hague Conference, was prepared and is now on hand available for use.

Notwithstanding his official duties to the Endowment, and the demands made upon his time as Chairman of the Joint State and Navy Neutrality Board, which sat from August 9, 1914, to April 6, 1917, the Director had the Third Hague Conference in mind, and as opportunity permitted, endeavored to carry out the expressed will of the Endowment and of its Executive Committee concerning the Third Hague Conference.

Fundamental Principles of Justice the Basis of International Organization

Although there are many ways of advancing the cause of international peace, there are, in the Director's opinion, two ways which he ventures to call indispensable, and which are so interrelated that they should be considered together. They are:

1. The application of the principles of justice by the nations in their common intercourse, if justice is to obtain between nations as it fortunately does between man and man.
2. A correct appreciation of the results of experience already had in international organization.

Impressed with the necessity of showing that the system of law between nations, known as international law, is not a thing of our day, but is deeply rooted in the past and has developed in volume and importance since independent states made their appearance in the Middle Ages, and since their independence and equality were recognized, irrespective of origin and of religion, by the Congress of Westphalia in 1648, the Director had proposed to the Carnegie Institution the publication of the *Classics of International Law*. The works of the founders of this system of law are difficult to obtain in the United States, and, indeed, in any country, and the Director believed that a service would be rendered directly to international law, and indirectly to international organization, if the treatises which can be said to have contributed to the formation and development of international law could be issued in their original texts—generally in Latin until recent days—and in English translation.

The Carnegie Institution undertook the project under the Director's editorship. Had the Carnegie Endowment been in existence at the time of this suggestion—it was made to Dr. Woodward, President of the Carnegie Institution in 1906—the application would have been made to the Endowment. Upon its formation there was a feeling that the project should be transferred to the Endowment's Division of International Law, which was done on January 1, 1917.

Without dwelling further upon this project, as it is only mentioned as showing the steps taken in spreading the knowledge of a law of nations and in putting at the disposal of the general reader as well as the expert the process of its literary growth and development, it is sufficient for present purposes to enumerate the works already published and the works now in press:

The works already published:

Ayala, Balthazar: *De Jure et Officiis Bellicis et Disciplina Militari* (1582).
Legnano, Giovanni da: *De Bello, De Repraesaliis et De Duello (circa* 1390).
Rachel, Samuel: *De Jure Naturae et Gentium Dissertationes* (1676).
Textor, Johann Wolfgang: *Synopsis Juris Gentium* (1680).
Vattel, E. de: *Le Droit des Gens* (1758).
Victoria, Franciscus de: *Relectiones: De Indis* and *De Jure Belli* (1696).
Zouche, Richard: *Juris et Judicii Fecialis, sive, Juris inter Gentes, et Quaestionum de Eodem Explicatio* (1650).

The works now in press:

Bynkershoek, Cornelius van: *De Dominio Maris* (Edition of 1744).
Gentili, Alberico: *Hispanicae Advocationis Libri Duo* (Edition of 1661).
Gentili, Alberico: *De Legationibus Libri Tres* (Edition of 1594).
Grotius, Hugo: *De Jure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres* (Edition of 1625).
Pufendorf, Samuel von: *De Officio Hominis et Civis Juxta Legem Naturalem Libri Duo* (Edition of 1682).
Wolff, Christian von: *Jus Gentium Methodo Scientifica Pertractatum* (Edition of 1764).

Under the second heading, "a correct appreciation of the results of experience already had in international organization," the Director calls attention to two projects, one already realized, the other in press. The first is the republication of William Ladd's *Essay on a Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes without Resort to Arms.* This admirable *Essay,* which appeared in 1840, advocated a conference such as The Hague Conferences and outlined the program and the procedure which these conferences have adopted and followed. To the *Essay* of this great American—countries are sometimes slow in recognizing their great men—the Director contributed an introduction, stating the leading projects of the past six centuries dealing with international organization.

The project referred to as in press is a collection of the texts of the projects of international organization during this same period. Its appearance has been delayed by the war, the Director's service in the Army and his presence at the Conference at Paris.

To return to the principles of justice which should be accepted by nations and applied in their mutual intercourse, the President of the Endowment and the Director of the Division of International Law have for the past few years been engaged in the formation of societies of international law in all of the American Republics, and in erecting upon them as foundations an American Institute of International Law. A national society of international law has been created in each of the twenty-one American republics, and the American Institute of International Law was founded in 1914, consisting of five representatives of each of the national societies. It was formally inaugurated, in the presence of the then Secretary of State, the Honorable Robert Lansing; of the President of the Endowment, a former Secretary of State; and of Mr. Robert Bacon, a Trustee of the Endowment and formerly Secretary of State, on December 29, 1915, in connec-

tion with the Second Pan American Scientific Congress which held its sessions in Washington, December 27, 1915, to January 8, 1916.

The Institute at its first session devoted itself to what might be called fundamentals and adopted a *Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations* on January 6, 1916, which has met, it is believed, with the approval of enlightened publicists of the civilized nations.

Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations

As this *Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations* is short, it is reproduced here with the omission of the preamble and commentary by which it was accompanied:

> I. Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the state to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending states.
>
> II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that, it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other states, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other states.
>
> III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."
>
> IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons whether native or foreign found therein.
>
> V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.
>
> VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international: national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

The President of the Endowment is the honorary president of the Institute; the Director is its president, and the session of the Institute at Washington was only rendered possible by a subvention from the Endowment, which also contributed largely, it may be said, to the expenses of the Scientific Conference.

During the Washington session the Institute was invited by the Republic of Cuba to hold its next session at Habana, as the guest of the government. This invitation was accepted, and the second session, known as the Habana Session, was held in that city January 22–January 27, 1917.

Recommendations on International Organization

Just as the Washington session had considered the fundamental principles of justice which should be accepted by nations and determine their intercourse, as a firm and solid foundation upon which international organization could be based, so the session of Habana sought to raise this structure, or rather indicate the form of the structure and some of the materials which should enter into its composition. It therefore considered and adopted, on January 23, 1917, a series of recommendations known as The Recommendations of Habana. These are also reproduced with the omission of the preamble and commentary accompanying them, which are too long for insertion in this place:

I. The call of a Third Hague Conference to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

II. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

III. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

IV. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the Conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the Conventions and Declarations and of calling attention to the Conventions and Declarations in order to insure their observance.

V. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

VI. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the Powers for this purpose.

VII. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

VIII. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

IX. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

X. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

A subvention from the Endowment made possible the meeting of the Institute at Habana, and the Director of the Division presided at this session, as he did at that of Washington.

The Society of Nations must needs have a law, and it must have its organs or agencies to ascertain and to administer it in appropriate cases. From the days of Cicero the phrase "*ubi societas ibi jus*" [where there is society there is law] has been accepted on all hands. A law has unconsciously grown up, but the society must become conscious of its existence, and it must consciously have a law. This law must not merely state the rights; it must also state the duties of the Society.

The American Institute of International Law was not presumptuous enough to think that it could, at its first session, codify the principles of justice which exist within the groups of men and women which we call states, and which might, therefore, in their opinion apply between the groups as well as within them. Its members, however, felt that attention should be called to the necessity of the formulation of these principles, and they furnished a declaration of these principles for such consideration as might be given to it. In the same way, the Institute felt that the Third Hague Conference would some day meet and that it would be advisable to state in the form of recommendations certain projects which had met with general approval in different quarters of the world, but which had not hitherto been brought together in the form of resolutions. However imperfect the *Declaration* and the *Recommendations* may be, they can, nevertheless, serve as a basis for discussion, and, modified in many ways, they could properly figure in a program of an international conference and be embodied in conventions and declarations of such an assembly.

It is not necessary for a workable program of international organization that the world should be federated; it is, however, essential that the nations of the civilized world should cooperate. They have already agreed to do so in numerous technical conventions, the best example being the Universal Postal Convention of 1906. These conventions, which came noiselessly into the world, point the way to international organization. The Hague Conference itself is a legislative union, or otherwise expressed, is a legislature *ad referendum*. It is possible to form, if the nations participating in this convention so desired, a judicial union, by agreeing upon certain principles of justice to be ascertained and applied in their mutual relations and controversies between members of the union by a court of this union which could properly bear the name of an International Court of Justice.

If the nations were desirous of entering into closer relations of an administrative nature, they could form an administrative union, investing the governing

part thereof with such functions as to them might seem desirable under the conditions of international life. There is nothing but the will that is lacking; the way is clear and the method at hand.

Experience of the United States in International Organization

The Director has believed for many years that in any scheme of international organization the experience of the United States as a union of "free, sovereign and independent States," which consented in the general interest to renounce certain enumerated powers to the government of the Union while reserving to themselves the powers of local self-government, would be a compelling example. He has always believed that the conference of the American States held in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 was an international conference, and that the most valuable work ever published dealing with the union of states was and still is Madison's *Debates in the Federal Convention.* The Executive Committee has approved his recommendation that an edition of these *Debates* with explanatory matter be published. It is now in press under the editorship of Mr. Gaillard Hunt and the Director, and will be laid before the Trustees at their meeting on April 16 of the present year.

The Director prepared a little book on the subject which was issued by the Oxford University Press in 1918, entitled *James Madison's Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 and Their Relation to a More Perfect Society of Nations.* A considerable number of copies have been distributed by direction of the Executive Committee and the Director understands that a second edition is in press.

The Director would like to call attention, before leaving this phase of the subject, to a larger work of the same general nature entitled *The United States of America—A Study in International Organization,* which the Executive Committee has authorized to be issued as a publication of the Endowment. It will be issued in the fall.

The Future of International Organization

The Director believes that the road to progress runs from the Hague Conferences to a distant and ever receding horizon. He believes that nations are only willing to try on an international scale those things which have been tried within national lines and which have been successful. He believes in an infinite series of little steps, not in any one leap, however attractive the prospect may be. The world rights itself after a great war, and the next generation picks up the threads of the past. The Perpetual Peace of the Abbé de St. Pierre was the outcome of the Congress of Utrecht, ending the wars of the Austrian succession. The Holy Alliance was the outcome of the Congress of Vienna ending the wars of the French Revolution. The project of the good Abbé has failed; the Holy Alliance has likewise failed, and any project resulting from this war is, in the opinion of the Director, doomed to failure unless it springs out of past experience.

During the Conference of Paris, the Director daily passed through the Place de la Concorde in going to and from the Hotel de Crillon to the Quai d'Orsay. He has often stood before the obelisk marking the site where the head of Louis XVI fell, and with it the old régime. The men of that day dreamed of a newer and better future. All that had been was wrong, and the wrong must be righted. They abolished the old calendar based upon the birth of the Man of Nazareth, and, brushing it aside, they began their new era with the year 1. But it all ended with the final entry of Louis XVIII, the brother of Louis XVI, into the Tuileries in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifteen.

The statesmen of the future, if not of the present day, are bound to recur to the past. And in international organization, the past is, in the opinion of the Director, the Hague Peace Conferences.

Work for the State Department in Preparation for the Peace Conference

It is not necessary to repeat what has been said several times in previous reports regarding the offer by the Trustees on April 19, 1917, of the services of the Division of International Law to the Government and its acceptance by the Department of State,[1] or to mention the action of the Executive Committee in placing additional funds at the disposal of the Division to enable it to carry on this work, which has also been reported in due course to the Trustees.[2]

In addition to special publications prepared by the Division in aid of this preparatory work, referred to elsewhere in this report, the Director, with the Solicitor for the State Department and a special assistant of that Department, was a member of a committee of three entrusted by the Secretary of State with the preparation of special material for the use of the American Delegation to the Peace Conference, and, with the authority of the Executive Committee and by means of the extra funds placed by it at the disposal of the Director, the Division of International Law was largely responsible for the preparation of this material in time for use at the Peace Conference. The collaboration of a large number of experts in private life was secured to prepare some of the manuscripts, while others were prepared by the Divisional personnel. All of the manuscripts were edited and seen through the press by the Divisional personnel. At this point the Endowment's connection with the monographs ceased, as they were printed as confidential public documents at the Government Printing Office at the expense of the Department of State. The Department is now considering making them public by distributing them to a selected list of libraries. In the meantime the Director gives the following list, for the information of the Trustees, of the monographs in the preparation or publication of which the Division of International Law assisted in whole or in part:

Abstracts of Cases contained in Lloyd's Reports of Prize Cases. Vols. 1, 2, 3 and 4. C. N. Gregory.

[1] Year Book, 1918, p. 117.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 106.

Memorandum on Authorities on the Law of Angary. Théodore Henckels and Henry G. Crocker.
The Berlin Congress. Henry F. Munro.
Basic Patent and Trade-Mark Laws of the Principal Belligerent Powers.
Catalogue of Treaties, 1914–1918.
Constitutions of the German Empire and German States. Edited by Edwin H. Zeydel.
Constitutions of the States at War, 1914–1918. Edited by Herbert F. Wright.
The Danube. Joseph P. Chamberlain.
Debates in the British Parliament 1911–1912 on the Declaration of London and the Naval Prize Bill.
Declarations of War—Severances of Diplomatic Relations, 1914–1918.
Diplomatic Agents and Immunities. Amos Shartle Hershey.
Extent of the Marginal Sea. Henry G. Crocker.
Handbook of the Diplomatic History of Europe, Asia and Africa, 1870–1914. Frank Malloy Anderson and Amos Shartle Hershey.
Laws of Land Warfare concerning the Rights and Duties of Belligerents as existing on August 1, 1914. Joseph R. Baker and Henry G. Crocker.
Laws of Maritime Warfare affecting Rights and Duties of Belligerents as existing on August 1, 1914. Harold H. Martin and Joseph R. Baker.
Laws of Neutrality as existing on August 1, 1914.
Neutrality of Belgium. Frank Lord Warrin, Jr.
Neutrality Proclamations.
Proceedings of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference.
Program of the Freedom of the Sea. Christian Meurer. (English translation.)
The Question of Aborigines. Alpheus Henry Snow.
"Rose Book" of Chile. (English translation.)
Secret Statutes of the United States. David Hunter Miller.
Selected Topics Connected with the Laws of Warfare as of August 1, 1914. Joseph R. Baker and Louis W. McKernan.
Spitsbergen and Bear Island. Louis H. Gray.
A Tentative List of Treaty Collections.
Texts of the Finland Peace.
Texts of the Roumanian Peace.
Texts of the Russian Peace.
Texts of the Ukraine Peace.
Treaty Making Power in Various Countries.
Types of Restricted Sovereignty and of Colonial Autonomy. W. W. Willoughby and C. G. Fenwick.
Wardship in International Law. Charles G. Fenwick.

Publications of the Division

Many of the publications of the Division were hurriedly put into type at the beginning of last year so that advance copies could be sent to Paris for the use of the Peace Conference. Before these copies could be finally printed as publications of the Division, it was necessary in the interest of accuracy to have them carefully gone over and checked up. This work of reexamination and correction

has taken a large part of the time of the personnel of the Division during the summer and winter, but the Director is happy to report that it has been largely completed, and that there will be a steady stream of publications issued within the next few months, some before the Trustees' meeting on April 16. The following statement shows the present status of each of the publications not hereinbefore referred to, and other publications of the Division:

The Classics of International Law[1]

Progress upon this series during the preceding year has been referred to elsewhere. (see page 106.) Briefly, the status of the unpublished numbers in the series at the present time is as follows:

Volumes in press:

Bynkershoek, Cornelius van: *De Dominio Maris* (Edition of 1744).
Gentili, Alberico: *Hispanicae Advocationis Libri Duo* (Edition of 1661).
Gentili, Alberico: *De Legationibus Libri Tres* (Edition of 1594).
Grotius, Hugo: *De Jure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres* (Edition of 1625).
Pufendorf, Samuel von: *De Officio Hominis et Civis Juxta Legem Naturalem Libri Duo* (Edition of 1682).
Wolff, Christian von: *Jus Gentium Methodo Scientifica Pertractatum, in quo Jus Gentium Naturale ab eo, quod Voluntarii, Pactitii et Consuetudinarii est, accurate distinguitur* (Edition of 1764).

Manuscripts on hand:

Bynkershoek, Cornelius van: *Quaestionum Juris Publici Libri II* (1737).
Gentili, Alberico: *De Jure Belli Libri Tres* (1588–1589 separately; 1598 together).
Suarez, Francisco: *De Bello* (1621) and selections from *De Legibus* (1612).
Pufendorf, Samuel von: *Elementorum Jurisprudentiae Universalis Libri Duo* (1661).

Works contracted for:

Menandrino, Marsiglio (Marsilius of Padua): *Defensor Pacis* (composed about 1324).
Belli, Pierino: *De Re Militari et De Bello* (1563).
Wheaton, Henry: *Elements of International Law* (1836).
Wheaton, Henry: *History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America* (1845).

Bibliothèque Internationale du Droit des Gens[2]

The first volume to appear in this series of French translations of important treatises on international law is *Les principes de droit international*, a translation of Dr. Lawrence's *Principles of International Law*.

Another volume expected to be published soon is the *Exposé systématique du droit international*, a translation by Gilbert Gidel and Léon Alcindor of the German treatise by Franz von Liszt.

[1] Year Book, 1919, pp. 107–109.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 116; 1918, p. 141.

Professor de Louter's *Het Stellig Völkenrecht* has been translated by the author, and the proofs have been passed for the press.

The press has the manuscript of two other works of this series, namely, Scott's *Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907* and Westlake's *International Law*. They will be put into type as soon as metal has been released by publication of other books of the Endowment now in type.

The sheets of Triepel's *Völkerrecht und Landesrecht*, printed by Pedone at Paris, are being sent to the Clarendon Press for final completion and inclusion in the series under an arrangement with the French publisher.

Collection and Publication of All International Arbitrations

The plan and scope of this important project, which is under the supervision of Professor John Bassett Moore, have been described in previous reports. The prosecution of the work during the past year has been subject to difficulties and interruptions such as necessarily attended the performance of all similar tasks during the war, and which by no means ceased with the signing of the armistice or even with the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles. In the unsettled conditions that continued to prevail, communication has been slow and uncertain. Personal services and attention have also been harder to obtain, and less regular than in ordinary and more tranquil times, while, in one exceptionally important case, definite expectations have been disappointed by reason of prolonged military service and delayed recovery from disability incurred in it. Nevertheless, appreciable progress has been made in preparing for publication material relating to the Hellenic period, as well as of material relating to more recent times. The copying of the records of international commissions in the archives of the State Department has continued, the records copied during the past year being those of the Panama Joint Land Commission. This commission was formed to determine the amounts due the original owners for lands expropriated in Panama for use in connection with the construction of the Panama Canal. The records of the commission are numerous, extending over the period 1907 to date. The copying has been completed up to August, 1915.

Proceedings of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907

The purpose of these volumes is described elsewhere. (see page 87.)[1] There will only be added here the statement that two very comprehensive, analytical indices have been prepared for these proceedings, one for each of the Conferences. As the French editions of the proceedings of the 1899 Conference contain no index, and that of the 1907 Conference only a meager one, it has heretofore been very difficult for a reader to trace the course of proposals through the several committees, or with any satisfactory sense of completeness to gain a knowledge of the positions taken by the several governments through the statements of their

[1] See also Year Book, 1919, pp 19, 106.

delegates. It is therefore expected that these indices will be heartily welcomed by all who have occasion to consult the proceedings.

The American Commission in Paris was supplied with advance copies and page proof of all four volumes. The subsequent final revision has steadily advanced, with the result that two volumes have recently passed through the press, and the other two will probably be printed during the course of the year.

Chinese Treaties and Agreements

This collection, which is being compiled and edited by Mr. J. V. A. MacMurray, Chief of the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs of the Department of State and formerly American Secretary of Legation at Peking, contains the treaties, contracts and other international and quasi-international agreements entered into by the Chinese Government with other Powers or with foreign corporations engaged in banking, mining, transportation, telegraphic communications, etc., since the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, as well as important Chinese and Japanese edicts, ordinances and regulations concerning the affairs of China. The work is proceeding slowly, though steadily, on account of its importance and magnitude. It is now passing through an advanced proof. A thorough index is also in preparation which will be a valuable addition to the work.

Prize Cases Decided in the United States Supreme Court 1789–1918

A few copies of this three-volume compilation were printed last year and forwarded to the American Commission in Paris. Being in reality first proofs, they are now undergoing revision.

Besides the obvious general considerations that make a compilation of these decisions valuable at any time, there are at the present moment two special reasons that serve to make its appearance peculiarly timely.

The first reason consists in the likelihood of the constitution at no distant date of an International Court of Justice which may be called upon to decide questions of prize law, and which would be greatly aided in its labors by the opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States, which may be properly considered as the only permanent court of prize in existence as it assuredly is the only court of a permanent nature created for a Union of States by the States forming that Union.

The second reason is more specific and concrete, inasmuch as the judgments of the Supreme Court in the matter of prize, brought together within the narrow compass of three handy volumes, will be at the elbow of statesman, diplomat or jurist who may have to consider and to pass upon the German prize decisions rendered during the World War of 1914–1919. The second paragraph of Article 440 of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers, on the one hand, and Germany on the other, signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919, provides that:

> The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to examine in such manner as they may determine all decisions and orders of German Prize

> Courts, whether affecting the property rights of nationals of those Powers or of neutral Powers. Germany agrees to furnish copies of all the documents constituting the record of the cases, including the decisions and orders made, and to accept and give effect to the recommendations made after such examination of the cases.

The purpose of this provision, proposed by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, adopted by the Conference, and embodied in the Treaty of Peace, was to subject the decisions of German prize courts to that standard of law obtaining in Allied and Associated countries not merely for the advantage of the enemies of Germany but for the protection of neutral nations which had suffered at the hands of Germany.

A Monograph on Plebiscites

From time to time plebiscites have been held in different communities to ascertain the sentiment of the inhabitants regarding the cession of their territory and transfer of their allegiance to another state. But it is only within recent years that the doctrine of plebiscites, based more or less upon isolated practice, has found its way into treatises on international law. The treatment of the doctrine, however, has necessarily been fragmentary, inasmuch as the documents relative thereto have never before been assembled. The present volume is a compilation of such documents, to which the author, Miss Sarah Wambaugh, has prefixed a monograph in which she sets forth the results of her investigations in this interesting but hitherto unexplored domain. The work is both important and timely. It is the first adequate treatment of the subject, laying before the reader, as it does, in the original languages and in English translation wherever the original text is in a foreign tongue, documents which have never before been brought together and whose very existence has not even been suspected by persons interested in the subject. The recent Treaty of Versailles provides for plebiscites in several cases.

Preliminary copies of this publication were printed for the use of the American Commissioners to Negotiate Peace. The completed volume has now been printed and published.

A comprehensive and analytical index adds to its general usefulness. The student of international law, statesman, diplomat and expert called upon to deal with plebiscites in concrete cases, will all find the volume a source of valuable information.

Treaties for the Advancement of Peace

This collection of international agreements, under the title *Treaties for the Advancement of Peace between the United States and other Powers negotiated by the Honorable William J. Bryan, Secretary of State of the United States*, has been printed and distributed. The nature of this publication is set forth in the previous reports of the Director.[1] The collection of texts is preceded by an introduction stating

[1] Year Book, 1917, p. 133; 1918, p. 153.

the origin of the treaties, their relation to arbitration, and their position in the movement to advance peace. Advance copies, without final corrections, were forwarded to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace early in 1919.

Jay's War and Peace

On May 22, 1917, the Executive Committee authorized the reprint of the original edition of William Jay's *War and Peace: the Evils of the First and a Plan for Preserving the Last*, published in 1842. This book is a very small volume, but one of special interest in that its author advocated the plan for world peace now so frequently resorted to, namely, the settlement of international disputes by arbitration provided for in advance by treaty clauses of arbitration. The reprint was published and distributed to depository libraries and institutions in January of this year, and is on sale to the general public by the Endowment's publishers.

The Declaration of London of February 26, 1909

Publication of this collection of official papers and documents relating to the International Naval Conference held in London from December, 1908, to February, 1909, was authorized by the Executive Committee in its meeting of May 28, 1918. The collection comprises the British circular instruction of February 27, 1908, proposing the conference, and three other British circulars preparatory thereto; a statement of the views expressed by the Powers in their memoranda, and observations by the British Government intended to serve as a basis for the deliberations of the conference, the text of the Declaration concerning the laws of maritime war, the general report of the drafting committee of the conference, the final protocol of the conference, instructions and reports of the American and British delegates, and a bibliography.

It is believed that the volume will prove a valuable reference book for students of international relations and international law, to whom the Declaration of London has always been and will no doubt continue to be a subject of great interest. The documents prepared for the conference and those stating and discussing the eventful compromises reached within it, set forth in definite form the many perplexing conflicts of views held by the principal maritime Powers concerning the operations of maritime warfare which involve the interests of neutrals. Advance copies were prepared for the use of the Peace Conference, and the final copies have now appeared.

French Editions of Publications of the Division

Reports to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907

A French edition of *The Reports to the Hague Conferences*, published by the Division in 1917 and described at length in previous reports,[1] was authorized

[1] Year Book, 1916, p. 142; 1917, p. 120; 1918, p. 145.

by the Executive Committee at its meeting of January 4, 1917. Preliminary copies of the French volume were sent to Paris for use at the Peace Conference. These copies were subsequently revised and the volume has been published by the Clarendon Press. This French edition of the Reports will not only prove a valuable addition to the library of the French reading international jurist and diplomatist, as offering in convenient form material in the official proceedings of the two Hague Peace Conferences selected for its importance, but will likewise be most serviceable to the reader of the English edition who wishes to refer to the original texts. With this idea in mind, effort has been made to have the French edition correspond with the English edition page for page, with almost complete success.

The Hague Court Reports

The Division's English edition of this work, which is a collection of the awards of the Hague Permanent Court and documents pertaining thereto, appeared in 1916 and is described at length in previous reports.[1] Although, owing to the pressure of other work, its French counterpart has not been advanced to a great extent during the past year, progress has been made and it is expected that the volume will appear during the present year.

Resolutions of the Institute of International Law[2]

This edition is not an exact counterpart of the English edition, as it was decided in the course of preparation to enlarge the compass of the volume to include the resolutions adopted by the Institute on subjects of private international law, or conflict of laws as we ordinarily term it. Preliminary copies of this volume were sent to the Director in Paris, and a final revision has since been made and published.

New Publications

The amount of new publications planned for the Division for the coming year has been kept at the minimum, so as to have greater opportunity and the maximum of funds available to complete the large number of publications now in course of preparation. There are certain manuscripts, however, authorized several years ago, which either are now or shortly will be ready for publication, and it is not deemed advisable that their publication should be delayed longer than is necessary in order to get them through the press. They are as follows:

English translation of Nippold's *Die Gestaltung des Völkerrechts nach dem Weltkriege*, prepared by Professor Amos S. Hershey, of Indiana University.[3]

Spanish Treatise on International Law, prepared by Sr. Gonzales Hontoria.[4]

[1] Year Book, 1913–1914, pp. 138–140; 1916, p. 145.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 146.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 124.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 176.

Latin American Arbitration Treaties, authorized several years ago and now brought to completion by Professor William R. Manning, of the University of Texas.

Authoritative expressions of opinion regarding the Monroe Doctrine. This work was authorized March 15, 1917.[1] The collection and preparation of the material was entrusted to Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, of Chile, Secretary General of the American Institute of International Law. Dr. Alvarez has advised the Director that the work has been completed except for a mechanical revision and it is expected to be received within a few months.

Pamphlet Series

No. 31—Peace Proposals

The Division has issued two pamphlets, Nos. 23 and 31, on this subject. No. 23, *Official communications and speeches relating to peace proposals* was issued in February, 1917, and covered the period from December 12, 1916, to February 7, 1917. No. 31, prepared in November, 1918, was an enlarged edition covering the period from December 12, 1916, to November 11, 1918. It was printed in preliminary form for use at the Peace Conference and is now being prepared in form for distribution to the Endowment's depository libraries.

No. 32—Violation of the Laws and Customs of War. Reports of Majority and Dissenting Reports of American and Japanese Members of the Commission on Responsibilities, Conference of Paris, 1919

This pamphlet was printed at Oxford in May last. The following extract from the introductory note sets forth the circumstances in which it was issued:

> At the second plenary session of the Conference, held on January 25, 1919, a Commission was appointed to inquire into and to report upon the violations of international law committed by Germany and its allies during the course of the war, from July 28, 1914, the date of the Austro-Hungarian declaration of war against Serbia, and November 11, 1918, the date of the armistice granted by the Allied and Associated Powers to Germany, upon the request of the then Imperial German Government.
>
> The Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties was unable to reach conclusions acceptable to all of its members on all the subjects submitted to its consideration. It presented a report from which the American and Japanese members felt themselves obliged to dissent. The Conference, finding itself in the presence of majority and minority opinions, directed its *Comité de Rédaction* to draft a series of articles on this subject, to be included in the proposed treaty of peace, and which under the title of "Sanctions" in French and "Penalties" in English actually form Part VII of the Conditions of Peace handed on

[1] Year Book, 1918, p. 113; 1919, p. 129.

May 7, 1919, to the German Plenipotentiaries to conclude peace assembled at Versailles.

The laws and customs of war are binding upon all nations. They should be faithfully observed, breaches of them punished, and persons accused of their violation brought to trial. The extent to which this is believed to be possible, the tribunals before which the accused should be tried, and the procedure to be followed are stated in the report of the majority, the dissenting opinions of the minority of the Commission, and the provisions of the proposed treaty. These various documents are therefore brought together, and, to keep them within reasonable compass, they are printed in English only, inasmuch as by action of the Conference "the French and English texts are both authentic."

No. 33—Autonomy and Federation within Empire. The British Self-Governing Dominions

A description of this publication appears in the Division's report of last year.[1] At that time, preliminary copies had been forwarded to the American Commission in Paris. Since that date an index has been made, and the book is being prepared for distribution to the Endowment's depository libraries.

Fellowships in International Law

For the third year the Endowment has continued to grant Fellowships in International Law for the purpose of aiding students in their studies and the more thorough preparation of teachers of the subject. The Committee on International Law Fellowships, composed of three professors of international law not associated with the Endowment, made awards for the academic year 1919–1920 to the following applicants from the institutions indicated:

Students' Fellowships:

Randolph G. Adams, University of Pennsylvania.
Q. K. Chen, Columbia University (Renewal).
Homer Foster, State College of Washington.
Loyd Haberly, Reed College.
J. Eugene Harley, Harvard University (Renewal).

Teachers' Fellowships:

John Alley, University of Oklahoma.
Bernice V. Brown, Harvard University (Renewal).
Alice M. Holden, Radcliffe College.
Clair F. Littell, Columbia University (Renewal).
Edwin W. Patterson, University of Colorado.

[1] Year Book, 1919, p. 125.

The semi-annual reports of these Fellows show that they are pursuing studies under the fellowships as follows:

Fellow and Institution at Which Studying	*Courses Pursued*	*Special Research for Thesis*
Randolph G. Adams University of Penn.	United States and Latin America United States in 19th Century Modern European History Diplomatic History	The Political Thought of the American Revolution
John Alley Harvard University	Government (International law)	Latin American attitude toward the Monroe Doctrine
Bernice V. Brown Harvard University	Peace treaty	The status of armed merchantmen
Q. K. Chen Columbia University	International law	Implements of naval warfare
Homer Foster Harvard University		Unable to complete first semester on account of illness
Loyd Haberly Harvard University	Government History	Maritime Law during insurrection
J. Eugene Harley Harvard University	Government (International law)	The relation of the League of Nations to the development of international law
Alice M. Holden University of Mich.	American diplomacy Political theory International law	Sections III, IV and VI of the economic clauses of the Peace Treaty
Clair F. Littell Columbia University	Study in diplomatic history and international law	The neutralization of states
Edwin W. Patterson Harvard University	International law Jurisprudence Roman law Administrative law	Justiciable and nonjusticiable disputes

It is gratifying to report that during the short period that the fellowships have been in existence, five of the Fellows, after completing their studies, have entered the profession of teaching international law, at the following universities: Government University of China, Peking; Northwestern University, Chicago; Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; University of California, Berkeley; University of Illinois, Urbana.

The Director believes that it would be advisable to increase the number of fellowships now awarded, but owing to the large demands upon the Endowment's funds for the ensuing year the Executive Committee has found it impracticable to do more than continue the present number.

Subventions to Societies

The work of the *Société de Législation Comparée* and the Grotius Society of London continues to be as useful as ever, and the Director recommends that the subventions heretofore granted to them be continued during the ensuing fiscal year.

Before the war made it impossible for the Institute of International Law to hold its annual meetings, the Endowment granted it an annual subvention of $20,000, to be applied toward the costs of its meetings, the traveling expenses of its members and the printing of its publications. This was done as a recognition of the services of the Institute in acting as General Adviser to the Division of International Law through a Consultative Committee especially appointed for that purpose. The war now being over, the Institute is planning to resume its activities and the Executive Committee, upon the recommendation of the Director, has therefore decided to include in the estimates of the Division of International Law an item of $20,000 to provide for the renewal of this assistance to the Institute in case it is able to resume its activities this year as planned.

Subventions to Journals of International Law

The Director recommends the continuance of the subventions to journals of international law as follows:

Revue Générale de Droit International Public. A subvention of 7,500 francs has heretofore been granted to this *Revue* to be applied, 5,000 francs as the honorarium of the editor and 2,500 francs to be paid to the publisher to remunerate collaborators. The editor, M. Paul Fauchille, has orally placed before the Director the increased financial needs of the *Revue*, due to increased costs, and the Director recommends that the subvention be increased to 10,000 francs, the additional amount to be divided equally between the editor and the publisher.

Journal du Droit International. The Endowment's assistance to this publication is granted in the form of a subscription to 400 copies, which are distributed to a list of persons and institutions supplied by the Division of International Law. The editor, M. Clunet, has applied for a considerable increase in the number of subscriptions, but the Director believes that the present number represents about all the Endowment can usefully distribute. Instead of an increase of the number subscribed for, the Director recommends that the subscription price now paid by the Endowment, namely, 25 francs per annum, be increased to the subscription price paid by other foreign subscribers to the *Revue*, namely, 35 francs per annum. This action will result in an increase of approximately forty per cent in the amount paid to the journal.

Revue de Droit International Privé. Before the outbreak of the World War, the Endowment granted a subvention of 5,000 francs to this publication. After the war its appearance became irregular and the subvention was discontinued in 1917. It has now resumed publication, and the editor, M. A. de Lapradelle, has brought it up through the first half of the year 1919. Pursuant to the recommendation of the Director, the Executive Committee has authorized the payment of the subvention for the years 1917, 1918 and 1919, and the Director recommends

that the subvention be resumed for the ensuing year at an increase of fifty per cent, namely, 7,500 francs, to help meet the increased costs of publication.

Rivista di Diritto Internazionale. This is the Italian magazine to which the Endowment subscribes for 100 copies, and the Director recommends the continuance of the subscriptions for the ensuing year.

Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée. This Belgian review received a subvention of 5,000 francs before it was forced to discontinue at the end of 1914 by the German occupation of Belgium. The editor, M. Rolin-Jaequemyns, has made arrangements to resume publication in 1920. It is recommended that the subvention be renewed at an increase of fifty per cent, namely, 7,500 francs.

Japanese Review of International Law. Up to last year this magazine received a subvention of $1,300, but on October 24, 1919, the Executive Committee, in response to an application from the editors, increased the amount to $2,000 to assist them in meeting some of the greatly increased expenses of publication. The Director recommends that the subvention in the increased amount be continued during the ensuing year.

In this connection, the Division continues its work of translating and summarizing the issues of the magazine as they are received. Many of the articles are of extreme interest because they show the Japanese point of view upon important international questions in a manner that is not shown elsewhere in any publication in English. Selections from these translations are sent to the Trustees from time to time. It is proposed to continue the work of translating them during the coming year.

Spanish Edition of the American Journal of International Law

This publication, which is entirely financed by the Endowment, has been continued under the supervision of the Division of International Law during the preceding year. An increase of $1,500 in the amount required has been asked and allowed by the Executive Committee. The increase is made necessary by the large increase in the costs of publication and by the necessity of allowing the translator and his clerk a small increase in salary.

Aid to International Law Treatises and Collections

It has been a regular function of the Division of International Law to aid in the publication of treatises and collections, which, because of their scientific character are not attractive as ordinary commercial publications.[1] Such aid is usually extended in the form of an undertaking given to publishers in advance to purchase a certain number of copies for distribution by the Division. An item of $5,000 to enable the Division to continue this form of assistance during the ensuing year has been included in the estimates. The following publications already present themselves as appropriate for assistance in this way:

[1] Year Book, 1919, p. 133.

Le Droit Moderne de la Guerre

This work has been prepared by the eminent Belgian publicist, M. Albéric Rolin, who has had intimate experience with the practical application of the laws of war during the period when he was preparing his manuscript. His book is, in the opinion of the Director, an invaluable service in the development of international law and he can imagine no more meritorious claim upon the Endowment for aid in the publication of a scientific work on international law than that presented by M. Rolin, who will, from actual experience, discuss its principles, conventions, usages and abuses. It is proposed that the Endowment purchase and distribute 500 copies of this work, which will appear in French in three volumes.

French Collection of War Documents

This is a collection of important documents concerning the war, of interest from the point of view of international law, collected by M. Paul Fauchille. Two numbers in the series have already appeared containing many documents of permanent interest. In addition to selected documents from the motley colored books issued by the belligerent governments, the collection contains rules, regulations, decrees, proclamations and other documents of the different belligerents relating to the conduct of the war. The series will contain four additional volumes, some of which are now in press and some in preparation. The Executive Committee has authorized the Division to subscribe to and distribute 150 copies of the volumes which have already appeared, and the Director recommends that a subscription be placed with the editor for the remaining volumes.

French Translations of Prize Decisions

Under this same head the Director calls attention to M. Fauchille's series of French translations of prize decisions of the leading belligerents, namely, Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany. He believes that M. Fauchille is performing a valuable service in collecting, translating and publishing the cases on the law of prize decided during the great war; but the completion of the enterprise is endangered because of the great cost and the lack of funds. As an encouragement to the editor and publisher, the Director recommends that the Endowment, through the Division of International Law, subscribe to and distribute 150 copies of each of the volumes in the series. The Executive Committee has approved the recommendation by authorizing such a subscription to the volumes already issued and recommending provision for the remaining volumes in the estimates of the Division for the ensuing year.

Respectfully submitted,

James Brown Scott,
Director.

Washington, D. C., *March 1, 1920.*

APPENDIX

Preliminary Memorandum on the Third Hague Conference

Submitted to Secretary of State Bryan by Mr. James Brown Scott, July 31, 1914

The Second Peace Conference, which met at The Hague on June 15, 1907, recommended the calling of a third Conference and adequate preparation for it in advance of its meeting. Thus:

> The Conference recommends to the Powers the assembly of a Third Peace Conference, which might be held within a period corresponding to that which has elapsed since the preceding conference, at a date to be fixed by common agreement between the Powers, and it calls their attention to the necessity of preparing the program of this Third Conference a sufficient time in advance to ensure its deliberations being conducted with the necessary authority and expedition.
>
> In order to attain this object the Conference considers that it would be very desirable that, some two years before the probable date of the meeting, a preparatory committee should be charged by the governments with the task of collecting the various proposals to be submitted to the Conference, of ascertaining what subjects are ripe for embodiment in an international regulation, and of preparing a program which the governments should decide upon in sufficient time to enable it to be carefully examined by the countries interested. This committee should further be intrusted with the task of proposing a system of organization and procedure for the Conference itself.

It will be noted that the recommendation leaves the date to be fixed by agreement of the Powers; that the Conference is to meet approximately in 1915; that approximately two years before the date so fixed, a Preparatory Committee is to be formed, in order (1) to collect proposals to be submitted to the Conference; (2) to ascertain the subjects ripe for international agreement; (3) to prepare a program sufficiently in advance of the meeting to allow the Powers time to consider the various projects; (4) to propose a system of organization; and (5) a method of procedure for the Conference itself. The reason for the appointment of a Preparatory Committee to consider these matters was that the delegates of many countries were unprepared, in whole or in part, to share in the work of the Conference, and were obliged to draft their projects during its meeting upon consultation with the home governments, thus causing delay and no little confusion.

The Government of The Netherlands, in accord with Russia, has proposed the appointment of a Preparatory Committee, to meet at The Hague, June 1, 1915, to be composed of a representative from each country invited to the Second Peace Conference, in order to reach an agreement upon the important matters mentioned in the recommendation above quoted.

The subjects enumerated in the recommendation will be taken up in order:

I

The Collection of Proposals to Be Submitted to the Conference

This provision is apparently meant to give to every country invited to the Second an opportunity of expressing its views in the form of proposals for the Third Peace Conference, and the duty of the Preparatory Committee under this heading is confined to collecting these views. The Netherland memorandum suggests, in accord with Russia, that a tentative program, to be prepared by Russia, be transmitted by the Netherland Government to the nations invited to the Second Conference, toward the close of 1914; that the governments so addressed shall transmit their propositions and projects to the Netherland Government, which shall in turn lay them before the Preparatory Committee. The duty of the Committee is to coordinate them, to make reports upon them, and to transmit a report to each government upon its propositions and proposals, apparently through the Netherland Government.

II

Ascertainment of Subjects Ripe for International Agreement

The Netherland memorandum apparently contemplates that the different propositions and projects referred to under the previous heading shall be confined to the subjects enumerated in the tentative Russian program, and that other and additional propositions shall be sent by all governments to The Netherlands, which shall deliver them to the Preparatory Committee for its consideration. The Committee shall thereupon examine the propositions and prepare its reports on them, which will be transmitted by The Netherlands, not merely to the countries proposing them, but to all countries invited to the Conference. In this way every country is given the right, not merely to express its views upon the Russian tentative program, but to present its individual suggestions and projects, which are to be sent with the reports of the Preparatory Committee upon them to all countries to be invited to the Third Conference, whether they have or have not previously presented their views. In this way all matters ripe for embodiment in an international regulation are to be ascertained.

III

Preparation of a Program Sufficiently in Advance of the Meeting of the Conference to Allow the Powers Time to Consider

The Dutch memorandum proposes the prompt formation of the Preparatory Committee, so that it may proceed to draft the final program of the Third Conference after it has received and considered, not only the different propcsitions

and projects based upon the tentative Russian program, and further propositions not included in such tentative program, but also the comments of different governments upon them. The program thus drafted, as well as the final reports of the Committee upon the subjects included in the program, is to be sent by the Netherland Government to the Powers invited to the Conference.

IV AND V

System of Organization of the Conference—Method of Procedure

These two subjects are grouped together in the Netherland memorandum, and the Preparatory Committee is to draft the system of organization and the method of procedure, which the Netherland Government will transmit, with the program and the final reports, to all the governments invited to the Conference and the Netherland Government will itself fix the date of meeting and invite the governments to be represented.

Taken as a whole, the Netherland memorandum proposes a Preparatory Committee invested with power to give effect to the recommendation of the Second Conference. The initiative of the Russian Government is recognized; the final program, the system of organization, and the method of procedure of the Conference are to be drafted by the Preparatory Committee, in which every nation invited to the Second Conference participates as of right, although the initiative accorded to Russia recognizes a position inconsistent with the equality of states in an international as distinct from a Russian Peace Conference.

Without criticizing the action of the Second Conference for the vague terms of its recommendations concerning the calling, the program, the organization and procedure of the Third Conference, and without undertaking at this time to frame specific instructions for the American delegation to the Conference to be held in 1916, certain observations of a general nature suggest themselves for the guidance of the representative of the United States in the Preparatory Committee charged with these matters, which is to meet at The Hague June 1, 1915.

It should be said, in the first place, that the acceptance by the United States of the plan proposed by The Netherlands, in accord with the Russian Government, for the Third Conference should be limited to this Conference and that the American representative in the Preparatory Committee should so state. The mere fact that Russia called the First Conference on its own initiative should not give it the hereditary right, as it were, to call, organize or control each succeeding one. In becoming an international institution, the Conference has ceased to be Russian or national, and, without lack of appreciation of the Czar for the services which he rendered in assembling the First Conference, it should be made clear that the predominance of any one Power in a matter in which all are concerned is a violation of the principle of equality which should obtain between nations.

It should be recalled that the Second Conference was proposed in the first instance by the President of the United States in 1904, and that the assent

of the Powers was secured through the Department of State, although, upon the request of the Russian Government, the President yielded to the Czar's desire, after the close of the war with Japan, to call and to make arrangements for the Second Conference. This does not mean that the United States should avail itself of the precedent to substitute itself for Russia, but that no one nation or group of nations as such should be recognized as having the right, to the exclusion of others, of proposing and of making arrangements for future Conferences. It is believed that an agreement should be reached by the Powers to have the Conferences meet periodically, thus obviating the necessity of the initiative on the part of any one Power. The interval between the First and Second Conferences was eight years. Between the Second and the Third seven years have already elapsed and, if it meets, as is proposed, in 1916, the interval between the latter will be nine years. The United States should favor a shorter period, and, without now attempting to fix it, it may be said that from five to seven years would be an appropriate interval between the reunions.

It is highly desirable that there should be a standing committee between the Conferences, charged with the duty of calling the attention of the Powers to the ratification of the various conventions of the preceding, and to prepare the work of the succeeding Conferences. The Secretary of State suggested in his circular note of January 31, 1914, to diplomatic officers of the United States accredited to the governments which took part in the Second International Peace Conference, that the Administrative Council of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, composed of the diplomatic agents accredited to The Hague, should form the Preparatory Committee for the Third Conference. This proposition was to facilitate its early meeting, but, as the Powers have agreed upon 1916, the purpose of the circular may be said to have been accomplished in so far as this matter is concerned. In the course of the circular, the Secretary of State said:

> The place at which the Council sits leaves nothing to be desired from the point of view of convenience, while the entrusting of the work to a competent body already in existence would result in an appreciable saving both in time and in expense. If the membership of the Council were found to be too large for the efficient carrying on of the work in detail, this difficulty could at once be solved by the appointment of sub-committees to deal with particular subjects.

The practicability of this method is obvious and it has an additional advantage, not mentioned in the circular prepared for a particular purpose, of producing an automatic reunion of the Conferences through an existing body constantly at The Hague and composed of official representatives of the governments, which can also serve as a standing committee in the interval between the Conferences. Without insisting to the point of irritation upon this method, the American representative should present its advantages to the Preparatory Committee, and the United States might properly lay it before the Conference as the appropriate procedure for the calling and preparation of future Conferences.

However, as the Preparatory Committee is to act under the Netherland plan, it would not be wise to press it at this time, as it is a matter for the Third Conference to consider. The acceptance of the Netherland plan for preparing the Third Conference should, in any event, be limited to it and not be construed to apply to future Conferences.

Nothing need be said in this memorandum concerning the collection of proposals and the ascertainment of subjects "ripe for embodiment in an international regulation," as the method proposed by the Netherland Government amply covers these points.

Some observations, however, concerning the subjects to be included in the program are desirable. The program may be looked at from two points of view; first, from the standpoint of the United States, and, second, from that of the other Powers. It may be premised, before considering the questions of special interest to this government, that the program of the Third Conference, like that of the Second, will undoubtedly contain the various subjects discussed at the preceding Conference, but upon which no agreement was reached, and which may be regarded as unfinished business; the revision, in the light of experience, of the formal agreements of the First and Second Conferences; and, finally, the new proposals other than those of the United States to be made by the countries invited to the Conference.

As regards the United States, the American representative should immediately familiarize himself with the following subjects and frame projects of a kind to be submitted to the Preparatory Committee:

(1) The organization and procedure of future Peace Conferences.

(2) Treaty of general arbitration.

(3) The Peace Plan embodied in treaties recently made between the United States and other nations.

(4) A permanent international court.

(5) The limitation of armaments.

(6) The immunity from capture of unoffending private property of the enemy upon the high seas.

(7) Loans to belligerents of money from private persons to be considered contraband.

These propositions, but a few of the many which will require later consideration, should be included in the program of the Conference, and it may be said in this place, without dwelling upon it, as it will be considered at length in the instructions to the American delegation to the Conference, that the American delegates should present the merits of the Peace Plan embodied in the treaties with other countries and favor its incorporation in a formal convention to be adopted by the Conference, and that, in addition, the delegates should encourage, wherever possible, the adoption of the principle contained in the Plan in treaties to be made between other nations.

Passing now to the questions of a general interest to be included in the program, other than those above mentioned, in which the United States has a special interest, it is probable that the following subjects will be presented by the nations and that they will figure in one form or another in the final program:

In the first place, the following resolutions and recommendations of the Second Conference, taken from the Final Act, will, as unfinished business, find a place in the program:

> The Second Peace Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the Conference of 1899 in regard to the limitation of military expenditure; and inasmuch as military expenditure has considerably increased in almost every country since that time, the Conference declares that it is eminently desirable that the governments should resume the serious examination of this question.

It has besides expressed the following opinions:

> 1. The Conference calls the attention of the signatory Powers to the advisability of adopting the annexed draft convention for the creation of a Judicial Arbitration Court, and of bringing it into force as soon as an agreement has been reached respecting the selection of the judges and the constitution of the court.
>
> 2. The Conference expresses the opinion that, in case of war, the responsible authorities, civil as well as military, should make it their special duty to ensure and safeguard the maintenance of pacific relations, more especially of the commercial and industrial relations between the inhabitants of the belligerent states and neutral countries.
>
> 3. The Conference expresses the opinion that the Powers should regulate, by special treaties, the position, as regards military charges, of foreigners residing within their territories.
>
> 4. The Conference expresses the opinion that the preparation of regulations relative to the laws and customs of naval war should figure in the program of the next Conference, and that in any case the Powers may apply, as far as possible, to war by sea the principles of the convention relative to the laws and customs of war on land.

In the next place, in accordance with the procedure of the Second Conference, which revised the conventions and formal agreements of the First, the following conventions and declarations of the Second will be submitted for examination and amendment:

I. Convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

II. Convention respecting the limitation of the employment of force for the recovery of contract debts.

III. Convention relative to the opening of hostilities.

IV. Convention respecting the laws and customs of war on land.

V. Convention respecting the rights and duties of neutral Powers and persons in case of war on land.

VI. Convention relative to the status of enemy merchant ships at the outbreak of hostilities.

VII. Convention relative to the conversion of merchant ships into war ships.

VIII. Convention relative to the laying of automatic submarine contact mines.
IX. Convention respecting bombardment by naval forces in time of war.
X. Convention for the adaptation to naval war of the principles of the Geneva Convention.
XI. Convention relative to certain restrictions with regard to the exercise of the right of capture in naval war.
XII. Convention relative to the creation of an international prize court.
XIII. Convention concerning the rights and duties of neutral Powers in naval war.
XIV. Declaration prohibiting the discharge of projectiles and explosives from balloons.

As indicating the consensus of opinion of enlightened publicists, the attention of the American representative should be called to the following list of subjects finally recommended by the Institute of International Law, a body composed of specialists from some twenty-six countries, many of whom have participated in the First and Second Conferences and are likely to represent their countries in the Third:

I. Preparation of regulations relative to the laws and customs of naval war in the relations between belligerents (fourth *vœu* of the Conference of 1907).
II. Establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice (first *vœu* of the Conference of 1907).
III. General treaty of arbitration (declaration of principle embodied in the Final Act of the Conference of 1907).
IV. Preparation of regulations relative to a permanent organization of the Peace Conference (according to the declarations concluding the Final Act of the Conference of 1907).
V. Extension of the convention of October 18, 1907, relative to the opening of hostilities, so as to cover in general all international means of coercion.
VI. Determination of territorial sea and regulations therefor.
VII. Effects of war upon private rights of individual nationals of the belligerent states.
VIII. Status of airships in time of war.
IX. Status of lighthouses in time of war.
X. Authority of arbitral awards with regard to national, judicial and administrative bodies.
XI. Diplomatic and consular immunities.
XII. Jurisdiction of tribunals with regard to foreign states.

Without mentioning other topics to be included in the general program, the American representative should familiarize himself in the near future, if he is not already sufficiently familiar, with the formal and informal agreements of both the First and the Second Conferences and with the list of subjects suggested by the Institute of International Law and, in considering these latter subjects, he should examine the Report of the Institute of International Law which accompanies the list.

There is, however, another subject which deserves special notice, as it deals with questions of great importance and may be looked upon as unfinished business of the Second Conference, although the matters upon which it failed to reach agreement in the domain of maritime warfare were considered and agreed to in an international convention called the Declaration of London, negotiated and signed by ten leading Powers in the London Naval Conference of 1908–1909. If the Declaration had not been framed, its subject-matter would have been regarded as unfinished business and included in the program of the Third Conference. If it be looked upon as an international agreement of the nature, although it can not have the value, of a Hague Convention, it would be submitted to the Third for revision, as other conventions of the Second Conference will be. There seems therefore no good reason why the Declaration should not be included in the program for reexamination and amendment, especially as it was concluded by a fraction of the nations, regulates matters discussed at the Second Conference, and supplies the law on highly controversial questions to be administered by the International Prize Court adopted by the Conference.

Although the Powers excluded from the Naval Conference have been requested to adhere to the Declaration, they have not done so, largely because they were excluded, and submission to the Third Conference might transform a special and partial into an international agreement. The American representative should, therefore, endeavor to include the Declaration of London in the proposed program.

In conclusion, the following observations of a general but of a fundamental nature suggest themselves to every American citizen interested in democratic methods of government and of fair play in matters of business:

It was a source of much annoyance and irritation at the Second Conference that the opposition of some few states was allowed to prevent nations which wished to do so to conclude conventions on various subjects. This was due to the fact that the unanimity rule which obtains in diplomatic assemblies was enforced. The most striking examples of this were the failure of a treaty of general, improperly called compulsory or obligatory, arbitration, due to the persistent opposition of Germany and its handful of allies, although an overwhelming majority of the delegations wished to negotiate such a treaty; and the failure of the Court of Arbitral Justice, because three nations (Belgium, Roumania and Switzerland) refused to allow it to be voted in the form of a convention. Some method should be devised to allow the nations desirous of concluding conventions to do so. This can be done by dividing conventions into two classes: first, general conventions, to which all the delegations are parties or which are not objected to by any delegation in such a way as to prevent adoption; and, second, special conventions, to be adopted by the Powers wishing to adopt them, either within the Conference or at a later time with reference to the proceedings of the Conference. Otherwise it is feared that the fruits of the Conference will not be gathered; for, notwithstanding the desire of the nations generally to negotiate a treaty of general arbi-

tration during the Second Conference, no such treaty has been concluded by the Powers favoring it since the adjournment.

Again, a formal convention agreed to by all the Powers should therefore not be construed to discourage individual initiative or agreements entered into by some of the nations upon propositions acceptable to a number of them. It is not to be expected among nations, any more than among individuals, that all will agree as to the means to be employed, even although they agree as to the end to be accomplished. Each should feel free to take such action as will, in its judgment, promote the cause of international peace, trusting to the influence of its example to hasten the adoption of the proposition which it advances. In like manner, any two or more of the nations represented at the Conference should feel free to agree upon any proposition in the interest of peace which seems to them desirable. This freedom of action on the part of individual nations or groups of nations not only furnishes a wholesome rivalry, but enables disputed propositions to be tried out by those having faith in their efficacy, leaving them to be adopted by others as experience shall demonstrate their value. The United States should therefore support any feasible proposition that looks to the promotion of international peace, no matter how many or how few may be willing to join in the convention. Nations only do or refuse to do what they are prepared to defend, and an agreement between some should not be objected to or resented by those who do not join, for the latter are supposed to be as firmly convinced of the righteousness of their refusal as the former are of the righteousness of their propositions.

Without outlining the form of organization and procedure of the Conference best calculated to enable the nations to secure discussion of their projects and, if possible, their adoption, the United States should favor every modification in the present method of procedure tending to make the Conferences more democratic, and, without carrying its views to a point of irritating insistence, to eliminate the disproportionate authority which has been enjoyed by any nation or group of nations. Each country participating in the Conference should be at liberty to make proposals on any subject within the general scope of the program, even although such subject is not specifically mentioned in the program. No nation renounces its sovereignty by participation in an international conference, and the proposals advanced should be considered more on their merits and less because of the nations proposing them. In other words, influence, as distinct from material force, should depend upon the intrinsic value or merit of the proposal and not merely upon the authority or prestige of the nation or nations supporting it. A contrary policy is likely to discourage suggestions.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Balance Sheet, March 31, 1920

Assets		
Investments:		
United States Steel Corporation, Series A, Registered 5% Gold Bonds	$5,000,000.00	
United States Steel Corporation, Series C, Registered 5% Gold Bonds	5,000,000.00	
		$10,000,000.00
Special reserve fund	$453,306.86	
Less expenditures under allotment	200,000 00	
		253,306.86
Property and equipment:		
Real Estate: Administration buildings and site	$184,000.00	
Furniture and fixtures	24,666 07	
Library	28,840.88	
		237,506.95
Income receivable:		
Interest on $5,000,000 United States Steel Corporation, Series A, Gold Bonds (accrued to March 31, 1920)	$62,500 00	
Interest on $5,000,000 United States Steel Corporation, Series C, Gold Bonds (accrued to March 31, 1920)	20,833.33	
		83,333.33
Advances to the Oxford University Press, American Branch		21,849.57
Cash on hand:		
Postage and petty cash funds	$1,130.76	
Cash on deposit (drawing account)	129,058.94	
		130,189.70
Excess of appropriations over revenue		268,018.74
		$10,994,205.15
Liabilities		
Endowment		$10,000,000.00
Income appropriated for property and equipment		237,506 95
Unexpended appropriations to June 30, 1920:		
Unallotted	$368,549 49	
Allotted, but unexpended	434,269.76	
	$802,819.25	
Less income receivable to June 30, 1920, applicable thereagainst:		
Interest on the Endowment $125,000 00		
Interest on income invested 2,454.38		
Interest on bank deposits 2,000 00		
	129,454.38	
		673,364.87
Unappropriated funds, June 30, 1920:		
Accrued on interest due August 31, 1920		83,333.33
		$10,994,205.15

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from July 1, 1919, to March 31, 1920

Receipts				
Balance in the banks July 1, 1919				$213,279.86
Balance of advances to the Oxford University Press, American Branch				11,849.57
Interest on the Endowment to February 29, 1920			$500,000 00	
Interest on bank deposits.				
With the Guaranty Trust Company to March 26, 1920			6,492 77	
Interest on income invested:				
On $137,500 U. S. Liberty Bonds, to March 15, 1920		$5,843 75		
On $115,500 U S. Liberty Bonds, to December 15, 1919		2,454 37		
			8,298 12	
Sales of publications			22 65	
Royalties on publications			14 00	514,827.54
				$739,956 97
Disbursements				
SECRETARY'S OFFICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION				
Salaries—officials		$15,337 51		
Salaries—clerks		12,641 98		
Stationery and office expenses.				
Stationery	$644 98			
Furniture	181 65			
Postage	192 66			
Freight and express	5 42			
Telegrams	95 23			
Printing and binding	1,990 97			
Newspapers	17 33			
Repairs	33 45			
Miscellaneous	365 88			
		3,527 57		
Maintenance of headquarters:				
Water rent	$12 10			
Fuel and lighting	1,378 82			
Telephone	420.56			
Messengers and janitor	2,006 25			
Repairs	647 36			
Miscellaneous	207 98			
		4,673 07		
Entertainment of distinguished visitors		171 30		
Traveling expenses.		644 40		
			$36,995 83	
Sundry Purposes				
Library and Information Bureau:				
Salaries	$4,160 01			
Books, subscriptions and bindings	$3,627 13			
Furniture and fixtures	21 00			
Miscellaneous	439 35			
	4,087 48			
		$8,247 49		

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from July 1, 1919, to March 31, 1920

Continued

Equipment for the Library		$111.00	
Translating Bureau, salaries		5,540 20	
Assistance for Government work, salaries		1,301 96	
Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie		3,500.40	
Year Book		7,946 49	
Abridged Year Book for 1919		3,173 19	
			$29,820 73
DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION			
Expenses of the Division in New York:			
Salaries	$5,906 42		
Rent	1,199 97		
Stationery	231 95		
Furniture	33 25		
Postage	100.00		
Freight and express	45 62		
Telegrams	199 09		
Fuel and lighting	247.96		
Printing	342 76		
Telephone	146 53		
Books and publications	332 66		
Repairs	72 85		
Traveling expenses	31 58		
Miscellaneous	418 94		
		$9,309 58	
Maintenance of the European Bureau		9,722 76	
American Group of the Interparliamentary Union		91 04	
Latin American Exchange		28,440 34	
Work through newspapers and periodicals		6,528 38	
International visits of representative men		3,392 34	
Replica of the Saint Gaudens statue of Lincoln		22,860 60	
International Arbitration League		819 75	
American Association for International Conciliation		28,552 50	
France-America Society of New York		1,875 00	
Institute of International Education		12,922 38	
Entertainment of distinguished foreign visitors		1,850 00	
Distribution of the Treaty of Peace with Germany		4,000.00	
French army scholarships		3,601 00	
Aid in the restoration of the University of Louvain		103,000.00	
Aid in the restoration of the University of Belgrade		100,000.00	
Honorarium for the President of the Advisory Council in Europe		4,000.00	
Honoraria of the Special Correspondents		2,834.02	
L'Office Central des Associations Internationales		4,876 87	
Loan to the Republic of China		40,000 00	
			388,676 56

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from July 1, 1919, to March 31, 1920

Continued

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY			
Expenses of the Division in New York:			
Salaries	$11,310.00		
Extra clerical assistance	486 60		
Furniture	80.00		
Stationery	113 67		
Freight and express	3 00		
Telegrams	275.03		
Printing	29 55		
Telephone	4 35		
Books and publications	26 38		
Repairs	20.43		
Distribution of publications	1,422 86		
Traveling expenses	29.15		
Miscellaneous	23 50		
		$13,824 52	
Honoraria of the Committee of Research		5,625.01	
Research work		15,432.89	
Publications		7,565.61	
Translations		2,179.12	
Consultations in Europe		2,409.21	
			$47,036.36
DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW			
Clerical assistance		$9,428.95	
Office expenses:			
Stationery	$252 27		
Furniture	23.12		
Postage	30 40		
Freight and express	5 79		
Telegrams	22.11		
Printing and binding	114.31		
Books and publications	24 88		
Repairs	2.00		
Miscellaneous	58 32		
		533 20	
Pamphlet series		353.68	
International arbitrations		3,725.57	
Classics of International Law		15,372.48	
Aid to the Grotius Society of London		1,250.00	
Publications		13,609.83	
French editions of publications		4,122.92	
English summaries of the Japanese Review of International Law		600.00	
Publications for the International Law Association		62.80	
Collection of Latin American arbitration treaties		334.50	
Documents regarding the international relations of China		209.43	
Supreme Court decisions in suits between states		2,880.64	

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from July 1, 1919, to March 31, 1920

Continued

Prize decisions of the United States Supreme Court	$254.05		
Spanish edition of the American Journal of International Law	9,365 04		
Revue Générale de Droit International Public	780.12		
Rivista di Diritto Internazionale	320.00		
Japanese Review of International Law	2,000.00		
Revue de Droit International Privé et de Droit Pénal International	1,119.40		
Journal du Droit International	983 29		
Aid to La Société de Législation Comparée	1,060.48		
Assistance for Government work	1,518 65		
American diplomatic correspondence, purchase of	8,400 00		
Fellowships in international law	6,398 80		
Monograph on Plebiscites	1.95		
Proceedings of The Hague Conferences	3.70		
L'Evolution d'une Juridiction Internationale Permanente, and French edition of the Declaration of Rights and Duties of Nations	790.50		
La Doctrine Scolastique du Droit de Guerre	700.15		
Madison's Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787	43.31		
		$86,223.44	
Total disbursements for the fiscal year		$588,752 92	
Withdrawal from the exchange account	$95.10		
Addition to the postage fund	83 78		
		11 32	
		$588,741 60	
Balance on deposit		129,365.80	
Balance of advances to the Oxford University Press, American Branch		21,849 57	
		$739,956 97	$739,956 97

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from Dec. 14, 1910, to March 31, 1920

Receipts				
Interest on the Endowment to February 29, 1920				$4,565,906 25
Interest on bank deposits				88,039 89
Interest on income invested				23,420.80
Sales of publications				5,388 36
Royalties on publications				829 40
Proceeds from the sale of syndicated matter				6,623 90
Miscellaneous receipts				6,021 41
Total receipts				$4,696,230 01
Disbursements				
Secretary's Office and General Administration			$587,854 07	
Division of Intercourse and Education			2,307,946 02	
Division of Economics and History			473,832 64	
Division of International Law			737,251 15	
Purchase of Administration buildings and site			184,000 00	
Total disbursements			$4,290,883 88	
Cash on hand				
Petty cash funds	$610 00			
Postage fund	520 76			
		$1,130 76		
Cash on deposit:				
Drawing account	$129,058 94			
Special Reserve Fund*	306 86			
		129,365 80		
			130,496 56	
Balance of advances to the Oxford University Press, American Branch, on account of books of the Endowment in the course of publication			21,849 57	
Income invested in Liberty Bonds†			253,000 00	
			$4,696,230 01	$4,696,230 01

*Total cash transferred to the special reserve fund	$200,306 86
Less: Payment of allotments of the Executive Committee	200,000 00
Balance of cash held in the special reserve fund	$306.86

†This amount is held in the special reserve fund

Statement Showing the Condition of the Appropriations, March 31, 1920

	Appropriations	Allotments	Balance Unallotted
Appropriations for Relief Work			
Relief in devastated portions of Europe	$500,000 00	$200,000 00	$300,000 00
Relief of oppressed nationalities in the Near East	50,000 00		50,000 00
	$550,000 00	$200,000 00	$350,000 00
Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1919			
Secretary's Office and General Administration	$51,912 00	$51,895 22	$16 78
Sundry Purposes	32,302 00	32,302 00	
Division of Intercourse and Education	168,788 00	168,788 00	
Division of Economics and History	40,250 00	40,250 00	
Division of International Law	111,184 00	111,169 29	14 71
Emergencies	97,870 00	97,870 00	
	$502,306 00	$502,274 51	$31 49
Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1920			
Secretary's Office and General Administration	$55,142 00	$54,942 00	$200 00
Sundry Purposes	29,102 00	28,934 00	168 00
Division of Intercourse and Education	206,720 00	188,570 00	18,150 00
Division of Economics and History	121,000 00	121,000 00	
Division of International Law	72,514 00	72,514 00	
Emergencies	125,000 00	125,000 00	
	$609,478 00	$590,960 00	$18,518 00
Total for Relief Work	$550,000 00	$200,000 00	$350,000 00
Total for 1919	502,306 00	502,274 51	31 49
Total for 1920	609,478 00	590,960 00	18,518 00
	$1,661,784 00	$1,293,234 51	$368,549 49

Statement Showing the Condition of the Allotments, March 31, 1920

	Allotments	Amount Disbursed	Balance
Relief Work			
Restoration of the University of Louvain	$100,000.00	$100,000.00	
Restoration of the University of Belgrade	100,000.00	100,000.00	
	$200,000.00	$200,000.00	
Allotments of Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1919			
SECRETARY'S OFFICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, 1919			
Salaries—officials	$20,725 00	$19,900 00	$825 00
Salaries—clerks	14,938.00	14,938 00	
Stationery and office expenses	7,649.79	7,649.79	
Maintenance of headquarters	7,082.43	6,902 43	180 00
Entertainment of distinguished visitors	500 00	226 15	273 85
Traveling expenses	1,000 00	1,000 00	
	$51,895 22	$50,616 37	$1,278 85
SUNDRY PURPOSES, 1919			
Salaries of the Librarian and assistants	$2,904.00	$2,904 00	
Purchases for the Library	3,000.00	3,000 00	
Translating Bureau, salaries	5,874 00	5,874 00	
Assistance for Government work, salaries	7,524 00	7,524 00	
Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie	5,000.00	4,602 91	$397.09
Year Book for 1919	8,000.00	7,944 86	55.14
	$32,302.00	$31,849.77	$452 23
DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION, 1919			
Expenses of the Division in New York	$11,691 96	$11,691.96	
Maintenance of the European Bureau	9,429 03	9,429 03	
American Group of the Interparliamentary Union	500.00	500 00	
Honoraria of the Special Correspondents	4,419.56	4,419 56	
International Arbitration League	953 25	953 25	
American Association for International Conciliation	36,550.00	36,550 00	
France-America Society of New York	2,500.00	2,500 00	
Latin American Exchange	40,000.00	33,907 84	$6,092.16
Work through newspapers and periodicals	9,277.00	6,928 59	2,348 41
International visits of representative men	5,000.00	5,000.00	
Entertainment of distinguished foreign visitors	2,740.30	2,740.30	
Replica of the Saint Gaudens statue of Lincoln	20,000 00	20,000.00	
Distribution of the Treaty of Peace with Germany	4,000.00	4,000.00	
French Army scholarships	3,601.00	3,601.00	
Loan to the Republic of China	18,125.90	18,125.90	
	$168,788 00	$160,347.43	$8,440.57

Statement Showing the Condition of the Allotments, March 31, 1920—*Continued*

	Allotments	Amount Disbursed	Balance
DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY, 1919			
Expenses of the Division in New York	$13,750 00	$10,718 23	$3,031 77
Honoraria of the Committee of Research	7,500 00	7,500 00	
Publications	19,000 00	2,441.60	16,558.40
	$40,250 00	$20,659 83	$19,590 17
DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1919			
Clerical assistance	$10,714 00	$10,714 00	
Office expenses	1,000.00	1,000 00	
Pamphlet series	2,000 00	353 68	$1,646 32
Collection and publication of international arbitrations	6,000 00	6,000 00	
Aid to international law journals:			
Spanish edition of the American Journal of International Law	8,500 00	8,500 00	
Revue Générale de Droit International Public	1,500 00	1,363 58	136 42
Rivista di Diritto Internazionale	320.00	320.00	
Japanese Review of International Law	1,300 00	1,300.00	
Journal du Droit International	2,000.00	1,845 00	155.00
Revue de Droit International Privé et de Droit Pénal International	1,119 40	1,119 40	
Aid to La Société de Législation Comparée	2,000 00	1,824.63	175 37
Publications	10,000 00	10,000 00	
Russian translations of American state documents	500 00	500 00	
English summaries of the Japanese Review of International Law	2,500 00	2,100.00	400.00
Aid to the Grotius Society of London	1,250.00	1,250.00	
Fellowships in international law	10,500 00	10,059 10	440 90
Statements regarding the Monroe Doctrine	5,000.00	2,800.00	2,200 00
Expenses of the American Institute of International Law	1,000 00	376 02	623 98
Prize decisions of the United States Supreme Court	10,000 00	254 05	9,745 95
Publications of the American Institute of International Law	3,000 00	2,377 80	622 20
Publications for the International Law Association	62.80	62 80	
Collection of Latin American arbitration treaties	750 00	334 50	415 50
French editions of publications	10,000.00	4,122 92	5,877.08
Documents regarding the international relations of China	10,155.61	209 43	9,946 18
Supreme Court decisions in suits between states	4,000.00	2,880.64	1,119.36
La Doctrine Scolastique du Droit de Guerre	2,000.00	700.15	1,299 85
L'Evolution d'une Juridiction Internationale Permanente, and French edition of the Declaration of Rights and Duties of Nations	997.48	790 50	206.98
Spanish edition of American diplomatic correspondence	3,000.00		3,000.00
	$111,169 29	$73,158.20	$38,011.09

Statement Showing the Condition of the Allotments, March 31, 1920—*Continued*

	Allotments	Amount Disbursed	Balance
EMERGENCIES, 1919			
Secretary's Office and General Administration:			
Professional services	$5,121 80	$5,121 80	
Design for a seal	100 00	100 00	
Expenses connected with the portrait of Mr. Choate.	150 00	150 00	
Taxes for the year ending June 30, 1919	1,283 12	1,283 12	
Sundry Purposes			
Publication and distribution of the Year Book for 1918	1,688 52	1,491 32	$197 20
Equipment for the Library	2,500 00	2,466 50	33 50
Division of Intercourse and Education.			
Institute of International Education	30,000 00	22,498 42	7,501 58
Aid in the restoration of the University of Louvain	10,000 00	3,000 00	7,000 00
American Peace Society	20,000 00	20,000 00	
Loan to the Republic of China	1,650 97	1,650 97	
Division of International Law:			
Assistance for Government work	15,011 25	12,234 35	2,776 90
Treaties between Germany and Russia, Roumania, Ukrainia and Finland	1,364 34	1,364 34	
Monograph on Plebiscites	9,000 00	1 95	8,998 05
	$97,870 00	$71,362 77	$26,507 23
Allotments of Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1920			
SECRETARY'S OFFICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, 1920			
Salaries—officials	$19,900 00	$15,337 51	$4,562 49
Salaries—clerks	16,828 00	12,186 00	4,642 00
Stationery and office expenses.	6,500 00	3,378 32	3,121.68
Maintenance of headquarters	7,914 00	4,673 07	3,240 93
Entertainment of distinguished visitors	500 00		500 00
Traveling expenses	3,000 00	410 80	2,589 20
Translating Bureau, salaries	300 00		300 00
	$54,942 00	$35,985 70	$18,956 30
SUNDRY PURPOSES, 1920			
Salaries of the Librarian and assistants	$5,880 00	$4,143 34	$1,736.66
Purchases for the Library	4,500 00	4,079.17	420 83
Translating Bureau, salaries	7,194 00	5,540 20	1,653 80
Year Book for 1920	8,000 00		8,000 00
Abridged Year Book for 1919	3,360 00	3,173 19	186 81
	$28,934 00	$16,935 90	$11,998 10

Statement Showing the Condition of the Allotments, March 31, 1920—*Continued*

	Allotments	Amount Disbursed	Balance
DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION, 1920			
Expenses of the Division in New York	$15,000 00	$8,869 33	$6,130 67
Maintenance of the European Bureau	19,000 00	9,722.76	9,277.24
Work through the European Bureau	17,000 00		17,000.00
Honoraria of the Special Correspondents	4,500 00	2,584.02	1,915 98
International Arbitration League	1,000 00	819 75	180 25
American Association for International Conciliation	38,070 00	28,552 50	9,517 50
France-America Society of New York	2,500 00	1,875 00	625.00
Latin American Exchange	30,000 00	7,500 00	22,500 00
Work through newspapers and periodicals	15,000 00		15,000 00
International visits of representative men	5,000 00	109 71	4,890 29
Entertainment of distinguished foreign visitors	5,000 00	160 00	4,840.00
American Group of the Interparliamentary Union	500 00	42.20	457 80
Institute of International Education	30,000 00		30,000 00
Honorarium for the President of the Advisory Council in Europe	4,000 00	4,000.00	
Relations between the United States and Japan	2,000 00		2,000 00
	$188,570 00	$64,235.27	$124,334 73
DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY, 1920			
Expenses of the Division in New York	$20,350 00	$12,306 35	$8,043 65
Honoraria of the Committee of Research	7,500 00	5,625 01	1,874 99
Research work	60,000 00	15,432 89	44,567 11
Publications	17,590 79	5,124 01	12,466 78
Translations	10,000 00	2,179 12	7,820 88
Expenses of the Japanese Research Committee	2,750 00		2,750 00
Library of economic war material, Paris	400 00		400 00
Consultations in Europe	2,409 21	2,409 21	
	$121,000 00	$43,076 59	$77,923 41
DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1920			
Clerical assistance	$12,644 00	$9,321 88	$3,412 12
Office expenses	1,000 00	520 28	479 72
Pamphlet series	2,000 00		2,000 00
International arbitrations	6,000 00	1,126 37	4,873 63
Aid to international law journals:			
Spanish edition of the American Journal of International Law	8,500 00	6,431 50	2,068.50
Revue Générale de Droit International Public	1,500 00	780 12	719.88
Rivista di Diritto Internazionale	320 00	320 00	
Japanese Review of International Law	2,000 00	2,000 00	
Journal du Droit International	2,000 00	983.29	1,016.71
Aid to La Société de Législation Comparée	2,000 00	1,060 48	939.52
Publications	20,000 00	3,877.91	16,122 09
Fellowships in international law	10,000 00	6,375.00	3,625.00
English summaries of the Japanese Review of International Law	1,000.00		1,000.00
Aid to the Grotius Society of London	1,250 00	1,250.00	

Statement Showing the Condition of the Allotments, March 31, 1920—*Continued*

	Allotments	Amount Disbursed	Balance
Madison's Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, purchase of	$984 04	$43.31	$940.73
Recueil de documents interessant le droit international, purchase of	1,315 96		1,315.96
	$72,514.00	$34,000 14	$38,513 86
EMERGENCIES, 1920			
Sundry Purposes:			
Advertising publications	$1,000 00		$1,000 00
Division of Intercourse and Education			
Replica of the Saint Gaudens statue of Lincoln	15,000 00	$7,860 60	7,139 40
L'Office Central des Associations Internationales	4,876 87	4,876.87	
Exchange of professors	12,500 00		12,500 00
Loan to the Republic of China	40,223.13	20,223.13	20,000 00
Division of International Law:			
Classics of International Law	20,000 00	15,372 48	4,627 52
Proceedings of The Hague Conferences	18,000 00	3.70	17,996 30
American diplomatic correspondence, purchase of	8,400 00	8,400.00	
International arbitrations	5,000 00		5,000 00
	$125,000 00	$56,736 78	$68,263 22
Résumé for Relief Work			
Relief in devastated portions of Europe and the Near East	$200,000 00	$200,000 00	
Résumé for the Fiscal Year 1919			
Secretary's Office and General Administration	$51,895 22	$50,616 37	$1,278 85
Sundry Purposes	32,302.00	31,849 77	452 23
Division of Intercourse and Education	168,788 00	160,347 43	8,440 57
Division of Economics and History	40,250 00	20,659 83	19,590.17
Division of International Law	111,169 29	73,158 20	38,011 09
Emergencies	97,870 00	71,362 77	26,507 23
	$502,274 51	$407,994 37	$94,280 14
Résumé for the Fiscal Year 1920			
Secretary's Office and General Administration	$54,942.00	$35,985 70	$18,956.30
Sundry Purposes	28,934 00	16,935.90	11,998.10
Division of Intercourse and Education	188,570.00	64,235 27	124,334.73
Division of Economics and History	121,000.00	43,076 59	77,923.41
Division of International Law	72,514 00	34,000.14	38,513 86
Emergencies	125,000 00	56,736.78	68,263 22
	$590,960 00	$250,970 38	$339,989 62
Total for Relief Work	$200,000.00	$200,000 00	
Total for 1919	502,274.51	407,994.37	$94,280 14
Total for 1920	590,960.00	250,970 38	339,989 62
	$1,293,234.51	$858,964 75	$434,269.76

Statement of Revenue and Appropriations, March 31, 1920

Revenue		
Revenue collected to March 31, 1920		$4,696,230.01
Income receivable to June 30, 1920 (estimated):		
Interest on the Endowment	$125,000.00	
Interest on income invested	2,454.38	
Interest on bank deposits	2,000.00	
		129,454.38
Total revenue, collected and estimated		$4,825,684.39
Appropriations		
Amounts appropriated, less revertments:		
For 1911	$128,202.32	
For 1912	230,672.76	
For 1913	406,119.34	
For 1914	586,239 99	
For 1915	529,553.53	
For 1916	580,741.04	
For 1917	534,483.74	
For 1918	435,906.41	
For 1919	502,306.00	
For 1920	609,478.00	
Relief work*	550,000 00	
Excess of appropriations over revenue		268,018.74
	$5,093,703 13	$5,093,703.13

*SPECIAL RESERVE FUND			Appropriations	Special Reserve Fund
Relief in devastated portions of Europe			$500,000 00	
Relief of oppressed nationalities in the Near East			50,000 00	
Original investment in 3½% Liberty Bonds, converted to the 4½% issue	$112,500 00			
Additional 4½% Bonds acquired in the conversion	3,000 00			
	$115,500 00			
Additional investment in 4½% Liberty Bonds	137,500.00			
Total invested in Liberty Bonds		$253,000.00		
Interest collected:				
On $115,500 bonds to December 15, 1919	$10,922 14			
On $137,500 bonds to March 15, 1920	10,814.10			
	$21,736 24			
Cash gain realized in the conversion of bonds	2,482.03			
Revertment of unexpended balances of appropriations and allotments of June 30, 1919	176,088 59			
		200,306 86		$453,306 86
Balance of the appropriations				96,693.14
			$550,000 00	$550,000 00

Recapitulation

Appropriations		Allotments	Balance Unallotted	Disbursed of Allotments	Balance of Allotments
Relief Work .	$550,000.00	$200,000 00	$350,000 00	$200,000 00	
For 1919 . . .	502,306.00	502,274.51	31 49	407,994.37	$94,280 14
For 1920	609,478 00	590,960 00	18,518 00	250,970.38	339,989 62
	$1,661,784 00	$1,293,234 51	$368,549 49	$858,964 75	$434,269 76

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLEMAGNE TOWER,
Treasurer.

I hereby certify that the above statement is true and in accordance with the books of the Endowment on March 31, 1920.

CLARENCE A PHILLIPS,
Auditor

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

April 8, 1920.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIRS:

We have audited the accounts and records of the CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE for the year ended December 31, 1919.

We checked the appropriations and allotments with certified copies of the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Trustees and the Executive Committee respectively.

The cash in banks at December 31, 1919, as called for by the records, was verified by statements from the depositaries.

The bonds representing the Endowment Fund and Special Reserve Fund were exhibited to us, and the income therefrom was duly accounted for.

All expenditures were authorized and are supported by proper vouchers and canceled checks returned from the banks.

We certify that the balance sheet; the statement of receipts and disbursements; and the statements showing the condition of the appropriations and allotments, as printed in the Report of the Treasurer at the close of business, December 31, 1919, are in accordance with the records.

We found the books and records in good condition.

Respectfully submitted

THE AMERICAN AUDIT COMPANY,
[SEAL] By HARRY M. RICE, *Vice President.*

REQUIREMENTS FOR APPROPRIATION

STATEMENT OF REQUIREMENTS FOR APPROPRIATION FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1921

Showing Amounts Appropriated for Requirements for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1920

	Appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920	Estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921
Administration		
Salaries	$36,728	$40,118
Office expenses	6,500	7,000
Maintenance of headquarters	7,914	10,272
Traveling expenses	3,000	3,000
Entertainment of distinguished visitors	1,000	1,000
Totals	$55,142	$61,390
Sundry Purposes		
Library and Information Bureau	$9,060	$11,820
Year Book	8,000	6,000
Epitome of Year Book	1,000	
Translating Bureau	11,042	7,810
Employes' annuity fund (maximum contribution)		6,000
Totals	$29,102	$31,630

	Appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920	Estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921
Division of Intercourse and Education		
New York Office	$15,000	$16,400
European Bureau, Paris	36,000	36,000
Special Correspondents	3,650	8,150
American Association for International Conciliation	38,070	39,500
Institute of International Education	30,000	31,250
International Relations	55,000	50,000
General Work of the Division:		
Japan Society of New York	5,000	5,000
France-America Society	2,500	2,500
American Group of the Interparliamentary Union	500	
General educational work, including distribution of books, pamphlets and leaflets and material for newspaper use	15,000	15,000
International Relations Clubs, and other work in colleges and summer schools	5,000	4,000
International Arbitration League	1,000	1,000
Totals	$206,720	$208,800
Division of Economics and History		
New York Office	$20,350	$19,340
Honoraria for Committee of Research	7,500	8,000
Research work, honoraria and expenses		10,000
Economic History of the War	60,000	50,000
Translating	10,000	10,000
Printing publications authorized by Executive Committee	10,000	25,000
Expenses of Japanese Research Committee	2,750	2,750
Library of war material, Paris	400	400
Consultations in Europe	6,000	
Trip to South America by Dr. Kinley	4,000	
Totals	$121,000	$125,490

	Appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920	Estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921
Division of International Law		
Salaries	$12,644	$13,970
Office expenses	1,000	1,000
Pamphlet series	2,000	2,000
Collection of International Arbitrations	6,000	6,000
English translations, Japanese Review of International Law	1,000	1,000
Subventions to international law journals	5,120	9,320
Spanish edition, American Journal of International Law (translating, publishing and distributing)	8,500	10,000
Aid to international law treatises and collections		5,000
Subventions to societies	3,250	23,250
Printing of publications authorized by the Executive Committee	20,000	20,000
Fellowships in international law	10,000	10,000
Classics of International Law	[a]	33,900
Bibliothèque internationale du droit des gens, Honoraria		2,900
Spanish edition of Special Supplement to American Journal of International Law	3,000	.....
International Law items in Emergency Appropriation:		
Correspondence regarding Latin American Emancipation	2,000	..
American Institute of International Law	25,000	[b]
Classics of International Law	20,000	[c]
Proceedings of Hague Conferences	18,000	
Totals	$137,514	$138,340
Miscellaneous		
Emergencies	$60,000	$50,000
Recapitulation		
Administration	$55,142	$61,390
Sundry purposes	29,102	31,630
Division of Intercourse and Education	206,720	208,800
Division of Economics and History	121,000	125,490
Division of International Law	137,514	138,340
Emergencies	60,000	50,000
Grand Totals	$609,478	$615,650

[a] Included in Emergency Appropriation.
[b] $20,000 included in "Subventions to Societies."
[c] See above.

RESOLUTIONS AND APPROPRIATIONS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MAY 5, 1920

RESOLUTIONS AND APPROPRIATIONS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES
MAY 5, 1920

ADMINISTRATION

Resolved, That the sum of sixty-one thousand, three hundred and ninety dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, for the purposes of administration, and charged to the current income for that year.

SUNDRY PURPOSES

Resolved, That the sum of thirty-one thousand, six hundred and thirty dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, for sundry purposes, and charged to the current income for that year.

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

Resolved, That the sum of two hundred and eight thousand, eight hundred dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, for the Division of Intercourse and Education, and charged to the current income for that year.

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

Resolved, That the sum of one hundred and twenty-five thousand, four hundred and ninety dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, for the Division of Economics and History, and charged to the current income for that year.

DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Resolved, That the sum of one hundred and thirty-eight thousand, three hundred and forty dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Executive Committee during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, for the Division of International Law, and charged to the current income for that year.

Emergency Fund

Resolved, That to meet unforeseen emergencies as they arise during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, the sum of fifty thousand dollars be, and it is hereby, appropriated, as a separate fund from the unappropriated balance of the income of the Endowment, to be specially allotted by the Executive Committee in its discretion.

Relief of Russian Refugees

Resolved, That from the funds appropriated by the Trustees on April 20, 1917, and December 16, 1918, for reconstruction and relief in the regions of the great war, the Executive Committee be authorized to apply fifty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for the relief of the refugees from Russia in the Near East and elsewhere through the agency of the American Central Committee for Russian Relief, of which Dr. Charles W. Eliot is president.

International Court of Justice

Whereas, The President of the Endowment has been invited to cooperate as an adviser in the formation of an international court of justice and he has accepted the said invitation; and

Whereas, The Board of Trustees of the Endowment on April 19, 1917, adopted a resolution declaring that the Endowment "shall make a special effort to overcome the remaining obstacles to the establishment of an international court of justice, and to this end the Executive Committee is authorized and directed to take such action and at such time as it may deem proper;" and

Whereas, It is proper that the President of the Endowment should have personally the assistance of those persons whom he desires to have help him in his work, especially Dr. James Brown Scott, the Secretary and Director of the Division of International Law of the Endowment; therefore

Be it resolved, That the sum of fifty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be required, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated to provide for the expenses of, and for the aid and assistance required by Mr. Root, and that he be authorized to name the personnel of his assistants, the said sum to be disbursed in the discretion of Mr. Root.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES DECEMBER 7, 1920

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE ENDOWMENT

Statement by President Root

I have a special report to make to the Board regarding action under an appropriation made at the annual meeting. Before that, let me say, the Executive Committee unanimously considered that it would not have been justified in calling the Board together for the consideration of policies to be followed by the Endowment, pending the political campaign which has been going on. The settlement of the political issues in this country by the election of the last month clears up the situation, so that we now, for the first time, may freely consider what we have to deal with. With the election over in this country and with the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva there is now presented to the Trustees for the first time a new field of operations, a new field in all the directions of activity which we have hitherto pursued.

In the Division of Intercourse and Education, Dr. Butler has reorganized and resuscitated what was left of the old European organization, and those gentlemen now have to deal with new problems, new relations and new questions in the attempt to promote more peaceful conditions through the work of the Division of Intercourse and Education.

In the field of economics and history, Dr. Clark has said a word here in the formal report and in the printed minutes which are sent to you from month to month. You will not see much left in the field of the old program of the Conference of Berne held in 1911. It seems like ancient history But there is an entirely new program to be laid out. The first thing is the saving of the economic data in all these countries, the rescue from destruction of the original documents, the original sources of history; so that, in the future, the history of this war may not be a mere matter of martial music and glorious achievements, but may be a true picture of what this war was and what it has cost, something which never before has been done for the people of the world, by rescuing the materials of history at the time.

In the field of international law, a great opportunity and a great task are before us. The so-called Covenant of the League of Nations mentioned international law in its preamble and cut it out in the text. There appeared to be throughout the world a general impression that international law had failed and that, because the world had proved to be unruly, law was not necessary. I need not argue that that was a mistaken opinion; that, when the world proves to be unruly law becomes more necessary. The true remedy is the more perfect establishment and enforcement of law. The only recognition in the Covenant of the importance of

any law, or the establishment or the enforcement of law, was by inference from the provision that the Council of the League of Nations should prepare and submit a plan for a permanent court of international justice for submission to the members of the League. Under that provision, the Council of the League invited a number of gentlemen from different countries to act as a commission or committee for the purpose of preparing that plan for them; and they were good enough to ask me to be a member of that committee. At your annual meeting you made an appropriation of $50,000 to make it possible for me to go and take with me suitable assistants. In anticipation of this we had secured a special appropriation from the Carnegie Corporation, so that the work could be done without infringing upon our regular income.

I went to Europe, sailing the first day of June, and with me went Dr. Scott and three assistants from the force of the Endowment, Mr. Young, Mr. McDermott and the younger Mr. Finch. The meeting of the committee was at The Hague. In fact, the original idea was that the meeting should be in London; but, after the committee was named, and acceptances had been received, the Government of Holland sent an invitation to the committee to meet at The Hague, and that invitation was accepted. We had as representatives very well known men who are interested in international law, who suffer, however, under the portentous appellation of international jurists. Nobody represented any country. The invitation was quite personal. It was a committee of experts, each one responsible only to himself.

We spent some six weeks in continuous labor, and finally we threshed out and unanimously agreed upon a plan for a court. There were three difficult subjects before the committee. The first was the one on which the project for a court was wrecked at the Second Hague Peace Conference in 1907, and that was the way to constitute a court in the matter of the selection of judges.

There appeared in 1907 two quite distinct factions, one composed of the small Powers, the other of the principal Powers. The small Powers, each jealous of its sovereignty, of its equal sovereign rights, demanded an equal voice in all things with all other Powers, which if granted would require that, in the selection of the judges of an international court, each country should have an equal vote, and that Honduras and Nicaragua and Guatemala, Salvador and Costa Rica would have as great weight in the selection of the court as all the great Powers. The great Powers were quite unwilling to permit these little states, which have practically no business before the court, to have the same weight as themselves in selecting the judges. And there they broke.

Another question was that of jurisdiction; and the third, the question of the representation of states in the court, that is, whether the court should have any member from a country which is a litigant.

The first question was solved practically by following the example of the United States in the Federal Convention of 1787. It was pointed out to these gentlemen at The Hague that practically the same question had been met and

solved in that convention; that we had here the small States, each jealous of its State sovereignty and of its equality, and the great States, which were unwilling to allow as much voice to the small and weak States as they themselves had; and that the difference was solved by the creation of two separate legislative bodies, in one of which, the Senate, the States are equal in their representation, in the other of which, the House, the membership depends upon population. So that, for example, Nevada has the same vote in the Senate as the State of New York, while, in the House, New York has 43 times the representation of Nevada. And when the men from the small Powers were once convinced that this was not a question of sovereignty, that it was a question of the sane adaptation of means to an end, and that the rights of sovereignty were satisfied by the exercise of the power to consent or refuse to consent, then the way became easy, and the provision was agreed upon that the judges of the court were to be appointed by the separate, independent and concurrent votes of two bodies, the Assembly of the League of Nations, in which the small Powers are predominant by reason of their great numbers, and the Council, in which the large Powers are predominant.

That is the main feature of the solution of that question. The scheme applies, League or no League, because it is a perfectly simple thing to create two such bodies when you once have the road blazed. You have only to provide for a meeting or a vote by all of the states, and another vote by the large states, and each one has the power to put a veto upon any unfair conduct by the other.

It was objected that perhaps the states might never agree, and that was solved by carrying over another American institution, that is, the conference committee, which does not appear to exist anywhere except in the United States. The provision was made that, if, after a certain number of votes, the two bodies electing judges do not agree, a conference committee of three from each body should be appointed and that they should thresh it out. The election in the first instance is to be from a list made up by the members of the old Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. A given time before the election, the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague in each country are to agree upon and send to the secretary general of the League the names of those whom they regard as fit for judges, and presumably they have ascertained their willingness to serve. From the names coming from all the countries, say one hundred names, these two bodies make the election. If they fail to agree, then they appoint the conference committee, and the conference committee has authority to go anywhere outside the list if necessary and find somebody who will break the deadlock and whom they can report unanimously.

As to the question of jurisdiction, we recommended, first, general jurisdiction upon all questions submitted, and next, an obligatory jurisdiction upon strict questions of law, the interpretation of a treaty, questions of international law, and certain questions arising upon the application of a decision upon the law. As to those questions, the acceptance of the court would constitute an agreement to obligatory arbitration between the accepting nations. We never felt very con-

fident that the world had come to the point where it was ready to accept obligatory arbitration. There were some indications, even while we were at work, to throw great doubt upon that. But we felt in the committee that we ought to recommend what we thought ought to be adopted, and we did so.

The Council of the League has stricken out the obligatory arbitration provision, so that the arbitration or the submission to the court must be voluntary. I regret it. Nevertheless, it is not so very serious. In the first place, the plan is there and the world is going to come to it some time. You can not wipe out the fact that it is there. It has been agreed to by fairly competent representatives of ten different nations, great and small, coming from all over the world, and nothing can ever wipe it out; and, if the nations are not ready to come to it now, they will hereafter, if it is right.

Another thing to be said about it is this: that, striking out the obligatory provision merely leaves us to general treaties of arbitration among ourselves, and all the nations that want to create that obligatory arbitration can make treaties just as they did after the Conference of 1907. That is to say, after that Conference, which adopted no convention for obligatory arbitration, we went to work and made treaties which created a general obligation for arbitration between different nations. The United States made between twenty and thirty of those treaties, and there were over two hundred of them made criss-cross all over the world. So that, so far as those nations were concerned, there was a system of obligatory arbitration under these general arbitration treaties. All that is necessary to recreate that system now is for the nations to make these general arbitration treaties applicable to this court, which would be the natural course to follow, leaving out those countries which, for one reason or another, do not want to go in. And you never can find a time in the world when there would not be some ideas of that kind in the back of somebody's head which would prevent general agreement on obligatory arbitration. So, perhaps, the thing is going on in the best way possible.

Another question was about representation on the court, which is to have eleven judges and four alternate or substitute judges to take the places of the regular judges when they can not sit. Although the general idea was that there should be fifteen judges, it was made only eleven in order to leave four judges to take care of states not now members of the League and others not yet fully recognized.

Now, everyone of those judges will be a citizen of some country, and the question necessarily arose, when any country goes before the court and there is a judge of that country sitting in the court, what is to happen? Is he to retire? A municipal lawyer would say, yes, that is the correct thing; the judge would probably be biased in favor of his own country and he should get out. That was the first impression I think of the majority of the committee. But we came to the conclusion before we got through, very clearly, that there is a difference between an international court and a national court in this, that the great difficulty

between nations is a lack of mutual understanding, and that the different preconceptions, the background of ideas that never get discussed by counsel in court, are so different, that in order to have an understanding by the court, there should be somebody in the court who is familiar with the customs, the traditions, the habits of thought and action and the meaning of the case in the country that is before the court. And, therefore, instead of forcing the judge of a country that comes in as a litigant to retire from the bench, we let him stay; if the other country has a judge on the bench, we let them both stay, and, if the other country has not a judge on the bench, we let it put one there. With a court of eleven, these two plainly can not swing the court. All they can do is to inform the court. So we settled it in that way.

We also recommended to the Council the calling of a general conference of all the world, for the purpose of examining and restating the law of nations; first, with regard to the rules of international law in those fields that have been affected by the war, to declare what law remains in those fields; second, to declare what new rules of law ought to be adopted as a consequence of the war and the acts which accompanied it; thirdly, to renew the attempt to secure an agreement upon those old questions which the nations have been in dispute about for so many generations; and lastly, to recommend and attempt to secure an agreement which will extend the rules of law into fields that it never yet has covered.

The whole law of the sea in time of war is broken up, and it is high time that we should know what it is. The whole subject of navigation of the air is totally unregulated by international law. It is high time that we began to form rules for it. The first thing we know we will begin to get into fights about it, if we do not have rules to regulate it.

That recommendation was adopted unanimously and sent to the Council.

We also recommended that consideration be given to the establishment of a court for trying offenses against the law of nations; that is to say, some provision so that there never will exist the situation created at the close of the war, when there were a lot of people who wanted to try the Kaiser and a lot of his people without any law for it, having first abandoned the position where they had some law, and proposed to try them on general moral grounds.

The committee unanimously expressed a hope that the Academy of International Law at The Hague, which was established by us a year before the war, should be reopened and proceed *pari passu* with the court and the conferences.

I have one or two other things to say. In the first place, while I was at The Hague, I was drafted to make a little address at the unveiling of the St. Gaudens statue of Lincoln, which was provided for by this Endowment and set up near Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament. I went over and made the address and we had a very fine time, well watered by the traditional climate of London just at the time of the unveiling, but still everybody was very cheerful. The whole thing was very well received and I think that it is really a very fine and useful thing to have that wonderful statue of Lincoln standing there for all time as

an assertion of the unity of race and the predominance of ideals that Lincoln stood for and the acceptance of those ideals on the sacred soil of Westminster. The ceremonies were in the hall facing the Enclosure. Lord Bryce presided and the Prime Minister made a speech of acceptance, following my presentation of the statue. The Duke of Connaught actually unveiled the statue.

I had occasion to go back to The Hague afterwards for something which was quite interesting. The year before the war, an arbitration was arranged and agreed upon between England, France, Spain and Portugal, regarding claims for the seizure of properties of religious orders in Portugal at the time of the revolution in 1910, and I was appointed as one of the arbitrators. This arbitration was suspended during the war and was revived upon the conclusion of the war. The proceedings reached a point where I was able to call the tribunal together at The Hague on the first of September. We went there and rendered a judgment between all these different countries. It was a source of natural satisfaction to me, for I believe we rendered the first judgment ever pronounced in the halls of Mr. Carnegie's Peace Palace, and the first arbitral judgment after the war.

You appropriated $50,000, which made it possible for Dr. Scott and these assistants to go. I wish to say, regarding the result of the meeting and the work at The Hague, that these results would have been impossible if it had not been for the services of Dr. Scott. It was invaluable to have his presence there, with his familiarity with the men and with the subject and with the methods of procedure and with all the difficulties and all the questions and matters that such a meeting and such negotiations presented. You appropriated $50,000, but we were sober-minded men, and were able to save $35,000. That money, the Executive Committee thought, under all the circumstances, they were justified in reverting to the emergency fund and then appropriating it as a contribution toward the restoration of Westminster Abbey—a little recognition of the spirit that put the statue of Lincoln in front of the Abbey and a little response to some of the things that have been going on in this country. Mrs. Carnegie was evidently very much impressed, for she wrote me the following note: "I am so happy to see in the paper this morning the announcement of the gift that the Peace Endowment has made to Westminster Abbey that I can not refrain from expressing my gratification to you. It is so in line with what I knew Andrew would have done." I would be glad to have a vote of approval of that gift.

MR. GRAY. I am entirely in sympathy with the contribution to Westminster Abbey as stated by the President. I move that the Board of Trustees approve the allotment.

The motion was duly seconded, put and carried.

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DR. BUTLER. May I offer a suggestion at this point? The Executive Committee will be called upon in due course within the next ninety days to prepare their recommendations for appropriations for the year beginning July 1, 1921,

to be considered by this Board at the meeting to be held in Washington in April. I know the other members of the Committee share the feeling that nothing would be more valuable at this time than a somewhat free and full expression of opinion by members of the Board as to the effects of the war upon our policies and acts; how far those policies should be readjusted; how far and in what manner they should be modified, if at all, by reason of the enormous changes wrought by the war. It must be that we have learned something during these past six years. I for one should dislike very much to present to my colleagues of the Executive Committee, and through them to the Board, a request for appropriations for another year which did not reflect some study and some discussion of the changed condition of the world. We do not have the inspiration and stimulus of the presence of the full Board very often, and I think I speak for others than myself, if I say how greatly we should appreciate some full and free discussion of the general policies, the general problems, with which the Endowment is face to face.

THE PRESIDENT. Perhaps it is worth while to say to the comparatively new members of the Board, that we found the annual meeting of the Board so taken up by matters of business connected with the administration of the trust, that no opportunity for the real discussion of questions of policy existed, and this intermediate meeting is the Trustees' meeting. It is the meeting for the presentation and discussion of views of the Trustees and instructions to the Executive Committee and the officers of the Endowment, and they are glad to be instructed.

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Statement by Dr. Butler

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Slayden has suggested that I should inaugurate my own proposed discussion, which I have no particular wish to do. Perhaps I may very briefly outline to the Trustees some of the larger problems that confront the Division of Intercourse and Education, which is, as you know, the nonscientific division of the work of the Endowment, and that which has to do directly with public opinion. A primary difficulty under which we labor is due to the fact that the problems with which this Division deals are properly problems of government. Therefore, a voluntary association such as our own has a great deal of difficulty in approaching the study and public discussion of those problems at any time when sharp differences of opinion develop among a people or between two or more peoples. We might very easily make ourselves an instrument not of good but of harm, by trying to do what we conceive to be a patriotic, a right minded and a progressive act.

That situation existed, of course, at the time the Endowment was organized. But the difficulties have greatly increased and have been multiplied by the circumstances attendant upon the war, by our own relation to the war, by our own participation in the war and by the problems of world organization which have since developed.

We have arrived at a point where a peace society, pure and simple, seems to be an anachronism. The whole world is committed sentimentally and intellectually, except as to what Mr. Roosevelt used to call its lunatic fringes, to a policy of international peace. It is no longer necessary to discuss that question with anybody. The elaborate moral arguments and pleas that were heard for a hundred years before the outbreak of the Great War were made so much more effectively, so much more convincingly, by the war itself, that they now sound like pleas in a dead language. We are now confronted with the problem of how most wisely to insure the maintenance of international peace and how most effectively to carry forward an ordered civilization.

I take it that among the members of this Board there is no difference of opinion and no dissent from the propositions that this can best be done by the steady, gradual and patient extension of the rule of law; that we are not to expect a complete conversion of the human heart from the use of force; and that we must expect no Utopian result within measurable time or within the lifetime of even the youngest of us. We must devote ourselves to the great trust which we have accepted from Mr. Carnegie,—the task of laying the foundation of an international structure, by a series of international agreements, that will remain long after we are gone and that will be a monument to the patience and wisdom of those whom he charged with the execution of his trust.

The situation through which we are passing may be greatly illumined by simply turning back the pages of history.

A very curious result is following upon what I conceive to be the misunderstanding and misapplication of a very appealing term, the term Self-Determination. This has come out of the war and the subsequent discussions as a term which could be applied to effect the settlement, the final settlement, of the troubles which are afflicting the peoples of the earth. The difficulty with the term Self-Determination is that we must first determine what is a Self, what is the unit to which we are making appeal and upon which we are endeavoring to build. Why, for example, were not the eleven Southern States of the American Union which, on grounds of stern conviction and high principle wished to determine themselves otherwise in 1861, permitted to do so in peace by their neighbors, and why was not their attempt at secession a genuine aspiration for self-determination? Why was not the aspiration of some of our fellow-citizens in the southern part of the State of California to break up that commonwealth and to erect two States upon its remains, for reasons which were to them satisfactory, not a legitimate use of their right—their natural right apparently—of self-determination?

The fact of the matter is, Mr. Chairman, that by the misleading and wrongful use of that term, we have set fire to more revolutions and have aroused more centers of disturbance throughout the world than anyone could ever have dreamed possible; and, in doing it—with the best intentions I, of course, admit—we have run counter to the whole process of modern history. A very considerable part of the difficulty with which we are faced today, not alone as a trust but as a

people, a very considerable part of the difficulty with which the Assembly of the League of Nations in session at Geneva is confronted, and also the world in general, is due to a misunderstanding and misapplication of this principle of Self-Determination. It is tearing to pieces the unity of governmental relationships that was existent in the various nations. It is preventing anything like a substantial integration of what is still the most troublesome spot on the earth's surface, the Balkan peninsula, and which has been so for nearly a thousand years. It is raising aspirations, troublesome and difficult, in the minds of peoples now dependent and bound to be dependent for hundreds of years to come because of their peculiar conditions and limitations in respect of the march of civilization.

The great process of nation-building involves more factors than the mere logical and rhetorical principle of Self-Determination. There are factors of geographic unity and strategic security. There are factors of linguistic unity. There are factors of religious tradition and inheritance. There are factors of racial characteristics, such, for example, as are found in the Visigothic community south of the Pyrenees, which has had to deal for centuries with the questions of its political integrity and its economic power of self-support. What I want to point out is that, in arousing among composite peoples aspirations for separateness by the use of a purely theoretical term we have run counter to the whole constructive tendency of modern history. The building of integrated, self-conscious, self-controlled nations involves elements far more important than the restless ambitions of numerous groups for Self-Determination. The use of this term has magnified many times the difficulties growing out of the economic interdependence of modern life.

Some of you gentlemen may have been surprised, but, knowing the speaker, I was not in the least surprised, when Senator LaFontaine of Belgium arose in the Assembly of the League of Nations last week and calmly proposed that the economic resources of the civilized world be held in common and distributed, presumably by the League, where it was thought that they would do the most good. I wished for a moment that I might have been on the floor of the Assembly, because I wanted to ask Senator LaFontaine what he proposed to do about the monopoly of the Port of Antwerp, and whether he thought that ought to be used so many months in the year by Holland, by Switzerland, by Austria and by France in turn, rather than have it wholly monopolized by Belgium in which state it happens to be. Then I should like to have asked the representative from Switzerland what he was going to do about the Swiss scenery. That appears to be a national monopoly. One has to go there to see it, to stay in Swiss hotels and to pay Swiss hotel keepers their exorbitant prices. These are but slight and wholly logical exaggerations of the natural and necessary extravagances which a mind like that of Senator LaFontaine's readily draws out of conditions that now prevail. Who was the first man to rise up and support him? Signor Tittoni of Italy. Why? Because Italy has not a ton of coal and can not get a ton of coal unless it gets it from England. Therefore, if the Assembly of the League of Nations could pro-

vide Italy with a quantum of coal without reference to the mines from which it was taken, the result would be a very substantial economic and national advantage. These notions are such stuff as dreams are made on.

The minds of men who hold such notions are working in an atmosphere of unreality. Practical politics have gone out of their world absolutely, and they are dealing with imaginary units instead of nations, with hypothetical economic and physical conditions instead of with a real world. Yet we are asked, and compelled, by the terms of our trust so to shape our activities and so to study our problems as to contribute to the development of international peace!

Then all this is complicated by another and far more fundamental happening. If I read history aright, Mr. Chairman, nothing like what is now coming over Europe has happened since the spread of Mohammedanism. That was the last highly organized and desperately made attack of a fanatical faith on the underlying principles of Western civilization. What is called Bolshevism is not a political theory. It is not even an economic doctrine. It is a faith. It is a form of fanatical belief which you and I can not discuss, because those who hold it reject every assumption upon which we proceed in our intellectual intercourse. Every intellectual, every historical assumption which seems to us a necessary presupposition for the discussion of a practical political problem or of an historic happening, they simply wipe out and deny. This new fanaticism, mark my words, is going to make an immense appeal to Oriental peoples as they come to know it; because it represents in a new form what has been the fundamental trait of all Oriental life from the very beginning of history—the communistic element, communal responsibility, communal activity, communal organization, denial of any personal responsibility, denial of any personal immortality, the looking forward at the end of everything, not to achievement, but to absorption in a great common Nirvana.

That Oriental principle lies at the bottom of this new Bolshevist faith. It has appeared first in Russia for economic reasons and as a form of intense reaction from the long cruel rule of the Czars. But it is essentially Oriental and appeals particularly to the Oriental mind. It is my belief, Mr. Chairman, that it will not be a decade before it will have infiltrated itself into Persia and India, and perhaps among the people of China. The Japanese people have probably been too strongly inoculated with the Western virus of individual ambition and individual effort to succumb to it. It is not altogether unlikely that it may become as powerful a force in the world as Mohammedanism once was. This situation has never been quite paralleled in all history. It not only includes all the elements that were involved in the breaking up of the Roman Empire and the movements of peoples that led to the building of the nations of modern Europe, but it also includes those elements of fanatical destructiveness in which an Oriental imagination takes genuine delight. Bolshevism is the newest form of the oldest conflict known to the spirit of man—the conflict of East with West, of the collectivism of stagnation with the individualism of progress.

In any such great phantasmagoria of figures and facts and ideas and events and turbulences as this, what happens? Reason does not occupy a very powerful place, and, therefore, every one is laying his hand to force wherever he can find it. If he is not laying his hand to military force, he is laying it to some other kind of force, usually economic force, or the brute force of the multitude. So it happens that we find ourselves at the end of this war in a situation so complex, so many-sided, so abundant in new as well as in old problems, that it really taxes the limit of human imagination to study the questions that arise before us, to say nothing of taxing human capacity to attempt to answer them all.

My own belief is that the work of our Divisions of Economics and History and of International Law are proceeding on the soundest possible lines. I do not see what remains for them to do but to continue on those lines, unless we are to give up our faith in the power of knowledge to guide and to reconstruct the world. We certainly wish our Division of Economics and History, with the cooperation which it commands of the leading scholars of the world, to tell us the story of this war, its real meaning, its real interpretation. It must assemble the records before they disappear,—all the great mass of original records and documents on which a later and perhaps a more sober and detached judgment must rest.

Unless we are to give up our faith in law, unless we are to surrender entirely the fine ideal which the Chairman has sketched for us this morning in the operation of the proposed International High Court of Justice, in making for it a body of international law—which must not be a body of international law merely to control war, but primarily to control relations in peace—our Division of International Law must continue on its present lines. It must continue to collect that great body of documents and to publish these very illuminating and instructive volumes that enable our American public opinion to see what our own legal history is, what our own relation to the international movement is, and then to show our European and Asiatic friends what is the lesson, which we think, in all modesty and without undue conceit or egotism, our American history can offer by way of instruction and guidance at a time like this.

But the task of the Division of Intercourse and Education is not so simple. Here any step enters upon disputed ground. Any publication occupies disputed territory. We have assembled after the war our splendid body of European advisers. They have had one meeting in Paris. They have added to their number the names which you find in the last report of the Executive Committee, including half a dozen of the most eminent European statesmen who were not already on our list of associates and helpers. But those gentlemen were just as much perplexed as we are. Instead of going ahead at that meeting in Paris in September, they resolved to ask us what we thought they had better try to do. They were close to the problem; they realized the differences of opinion among their own peoples; they recognized the sharp differences of opinion here in the United States. They recognized here that our international policy had become a political question and had taken on a political form that was going to be de-

bated before the people, and that had to be settled at the polls. So they felt that they could not go ahead.

Your Division of Intercourse and Education, except in proceeding along those lines which are not open to dispute because they are not so important, is itself confronted by new and very severe difficulties. One policy that we followed during the war, and which appeared to be successful, was to confine the widely circulated publications of our Association of International Conciliation almost exclusively to public documents. If there was an important correspondence between our Department of State and another government, we printed it and widely circulated it for the information of the people. If there was a peace treaty concluded, we printed that and circulated it by the tens of thousands. We circulated the German answers and objections to the Peace Treaty. You will find that, almost without exception, we have excluded anything that could be called mere opinion, not because we had no opinions, but because it was impracticable to print them without stirring up more trouble than before. Instead of contributing to international peace, we should have been contributing to national and international friction.

This is an outline of the problem; my own problem in particular, and the Executive Committee's problem. It is a very difficult one. Looking to the immediate future, what ought your Division of Intercourse and Education to be doing that it is not now doing? What ought it to stop doing, if anything, that it is now doing? How would you have it recast its methods and purposes as the result of the war's lessons, if at all? We have always believed that we could do the best work by keeping out of sight as much as possible and by contributing in a quiet and effective way to multiply and strengthen those personal relationships and personal understandings between representatives of various peoples that count for so much. These may create ties which are sometimes stronger than the international links that are more clearly visible to the public. We have been the means of bringing literally hundreds—perhaps thousands, but certainly hundreds—of Europeans, South Americans and Asiatics into personal and social touch with tens of thousands of Americans, and of bringing thousands of Americans into personal touch with thousands of Europeans, Asiatics and South Americans. We have established a feeling of comradeship among a very considerable body of loyal, devoted citizens of various nations, all of whom are patriotic to the core, and all bent upon so guiding the policy of their several nations as to make a constructive contribution to our great cause.

I have spoken of these aspects of our problem, of some of our difficulties and of some of our opportunities, because, if our colleagues will address themselves in some way to them or give us the benefit of their reflections upon them, or aid us by counsel, it will certainly be very helpful in planning the work of the next two or three years.

* * * * *

Statement by President Root

I am sure I speak the feeling of everybody connected with the active management of the Endowment in saying that we very much want the assistance of the members of the Board in the conduct of the business of the trust under the new conditions. While the whole force is working very hard and it has been, I think, doing many very useful things by the kind favor and assistance of the recent Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, whom we are also glad to see in our number here; nevertheless, there is a certain sense of inadequacy in everything that is being done towards not merely the preservation but the promotion of peace in the world, a certain sense of inadequacy in the forces that are being brought to bear and the things that are being done to meet the disturbances, to meet the forces that threaten to destroy peace in all the rest of the world.

There is a great deal of discussion about the League of Nations. Whether it is dead or alive, whether it is doing its work or not, the fact is that the League of Nations has not yet been in a position where it ought to begin. The process of creating a peaceful world never has been accomplished. The League is like a man who has hired a farm, agreeing to pay rental in kind from the products of the farm. He is called upon to pay the rental and he has not been put in possession of the farm. The League of Nations is an organization to preserve peace in a world of peace.

There are moving out before us these tremendous forces. Dissatisfied and revengeful Germany, Russia going back to barbarism, and Turkey and the remains of former Austria are sinking into such depths of suffering and poverty and economic disorganization that the worst consequences of disorder may be anticipated. Turkey is in a condition where its nominal government is helpless, and the real force of the people rests with a practically rebellious leadership.

The League of Nations is an organization of a minority, and a small minority, against the vast majority—a civilized minority in alliance against a vast, semi-civilized, almost barbarous majority, threatening to overwhelm it. An estimate some little time ago led to figures which, as I recall them, indicated that there are now in alliance in Western Europe about 130,000,000 of people against the semi-barbarous forces of over 280,000,000. All our peace efforts make no dent whatever on the consciences of that 280,000,000. And it is a serious question as to what can be done that differs from crying, "Peace, peace," when there is no peace.

We are impressed by the inadequacy of everything that is being attempted, the League of Nations, Supreme Council, peace organizations,—the inadequacy of it all is the great fact that we have to deal with; and, if any of you can think of anything, why for God's sake let's have it. We are beating around on the mere surface of things, and by "we" I do not mean this organization; I mean governments. What has been done hitherto is a mere attempt to bind the giant with silk ribbons.

Where can we help? Every man who has accepted the responsibility of this trust is under an obligation to put his mind on that great question and see if we

can turn in some way our forces towards promoting something that will be of consequence and effective. Money will not do it; much money will not do it. The only advantage of having money is that it may help some personality to become effective. If you can put some money behind a person so that that person can do something that he could not have done otherwise, then you have accomplished something. Of course, we are constantly making mistakes in doing that. We are wasting some of our money that we spend and it is doing more harm than good, but we can not help that. We are bound to make mistakes.

Where is there something that will tend towards an effective meeting of the various forces that now threaten the peace of the world? Where can we help along by the use of this fund? I do not feel pessimistic about it. I think ways will be found, but people ought to be pretty busy trying to find them.

Dr. Scott reminds me that we are now concluding the first decade of this organization. Ten years ago this month, we in fact began our work. I think that we have contributed very substantially to the knowledge and the opportunities for knowledge upon which the public knowledge, the knowledge of men qualified to be leaders of opinion, must necessarily rest in advancing in international relations.

MR. SHEFFIELD. Following your suggestion that as Trustees of this fund we owe a peculiar obligation to put our minds and hearts on these problems, and there being only a certain number of the Trustees present who have been privileged to hear your very inspiring appeal and also that of Dr. Butler, would it be out of the way for the Secretary to prepare a letter or some communication which would drive home their obligation to those Trustees who are not here, and remind those of us who are here of our obligation, to think of these things and so far as possible to make suggestions? I confess that—probably the same is true of many others—I came with no program. Of course, I had not previously thought of these problems in the same way we now will think of them. Men are apt to suggest a plan at a meeting of this kind without thought. If they did, it would probably not be a plan of much value. Between now and our meeting in April, there will be opportunity and time for very serious and careful thought. It seems to me that out of a body of men such as compose this Board, there should be some contribution of value to the future work of this Endowment. And I feel that those who are not here should have the opportunity of expressing their views, either by letter or in person, as well as those who are here.

MR. SLAYDEN. I move that the remarks made by the Chairman and Dr. Butler be printed separately and sent to the Trustees.

The motion was duly seconded, put and carried.

LETTER FROM THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

NOVEMBER 27, 1920

THE DEANERY
WESTMINSTER, S. W.

November 27, 1920.

TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE CARNEGIE TRUST.

MY DEAR SIR:

I do not know how to express in any adequate terms my profound gratitude for the splendid and munificent generosity with which you and the Carnegie Trustees have contributed to our Westminster Abbey Restoration Fund. Your gift, my dear Sir, of Ten Thousand Pounds has come with a delightful and most gratifying suddenness; and speaking on behalf of the old Abbey I am proud that the Carnegie Trustees should have been willing to identify its cause with the sacred object of promoting international Peace.

The great American people has always had a warm affection for Westminster Abbey; and I rejoice to know that this inheritance from early centuries of English History is felt to be one of those most hallowed pledges of brotherhood which help to unite the two great nations in enduring harmony and good will.

I thank you in feeble terms but with strong overpowering emotion; and I have the honour to enclose our official form of receipt.

I am, my dear Sir,

Most truly and gratefully yours,

(Signed) HERBERT E. RYLE,
Dean of Westminster.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
DECEMBER 7, 1920

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE:

Pursuant to Article 7, Section 3, of the By-Laws, the Executive Committee submits this report to the Board with copies of the minutes of the meetings of the Committee held since the last annual meeting of the Trustees, namely, the minutes of the meetings of the Committee of May 5 and November 8, 1920. Of the matters dealt with by the Executive Committee, the following may be mentioned as of more importance:

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The Trustees will recall that on May 5, 1920, they authorized the President of the Endowment to proceed to The Hague, with the Secretary of the Endowment, as an adviser in the formation of an international court of justice, and appropriated $50,000, or so much thereof as was necessary, to cover the expenses of the trip. The President accepted the invitation to advise in the formation of the international court and reported the result of his trip to the Executive Committee at its meeting on November 8. A technical report covering the work done at The Hague, the difficult questions that had to be solved in drafting the project for the court, and the manner of their settlement, has been prepared by the Secretary of the Endowment and is laid before the Trustees in printed form.

CONTRIBUTION TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY FUND

The Executive Committee has deemed it appropriate to utilize the unused balance of the appropriation for work in connection with the international court of justice, to make a contribution of £10,000 to the fund which is being raised by popular subscription in Great Britain for the restoration and maintenance of the fabric of Westminster Abbey, where is located the St. Gaudens statue of Lincoln recently donated by the Endowment. The action of the Committee in making this contribution is reported in the minutes of November 8.

RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE

The Executive Committee has previously reported its action in allotting from the appropriation of $550,000 for reconstruction work in Europe, $100,000 for the restoration of the Library of the University of Louvain and $100,000 for the restoration of the Library of the University of Belgrade. The Trustees at their meeting on May 5 last, authorized the use of $50,000 of this appropriation

for the relief of the refugees from Russia in the Near East and elsewhere, and that amount has since been paid to the American Central Committee for Russian Relief. In addition to these allotments, the Executive Committee, on November 8, 1920, allotted the sum of $200,000 from this appropriation for erecting and equipping a library building in the city of Rheims, France. This leaves a balance of $100,000 in the appropriation, the specific use of which is yet to be determined.

Subventions to Peace Societies

At their meeting on May 5, 1920, the Trustees passed a resolution referring to the Executive Committee with power the request of the New York Peace Society for an appropriation of $6,000 and of the American Peace Society for an appropriation of $20,000.

These requests were considered by the Executive Committee at its meeting on November 8, and, as is shown by the minutes of that meeting, after careful consideration of the policy to be pursued by the Endowment in contributing to peace societies, it was resolved that no allotment be made for the revival of the New York Peace Society, which had merged with the League to Enforce Peace; and that there be paid to the American Peace Society a sum equal to the amount of its income from other sources, not exceeding $15,000 for the year ending June 30, 1921.

A similar request from the Interparliamentary Union, which had not been presented to the Board of Trustees, was received and considered by the Executive Committee, but it was found that the Endowment had no funds available for the support of the Union.

The Economic History of the War

The chief work of the Division of Economics and History since the last meeting of the Board has been the organization of the economic history of the war in accordance with the memorandum submitted by the editor of the history to the Trustees on May 5. To provide for the preparation of the history as planned, the former Committee of Research of the Division in Europe has been superseded by editorial boards in France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Holland and the Balkan countries. The editorial board in Great Britain is fully organized and its work well under way. The editor of the history is now in Europe making investigations on the spot which will enable him to make proper recommendations for the organization of editorial boards in the other countries mentioned.

International Law Work

There was laid before the Trustees at their last meeting a letter from the Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Endowment, inviting the Director of the Division of International Law to undertake the supervision and preparation of an annotated documentary history of the peace negotiations at Paris

from the documents in the archives of the State Department. The Trustees authorized and empowered the Director of the Division of International Law to undertake this public service. A preliminary plan was agreed upon and is being worked out in the Department, but shortly after preparatory work was begun, the Director was drafted by the President of the Endowment to accompany him to The Hague to serve in connection with the formulation of the plan for the international court of justice. This detail and the preparation of the technical report upon the work at The Hague has practically utilized the full time of the Director of the Division of International Law during the summer and fall. Meanwhile the personnel of the Division has been engaged in completing the program of publications as outlined in the last annual report.

Death of Mr. Perkins

It is the sad duty of the Executive Committee to report to the Trustees the death of one of their original number, Mr. George W. Perkins. A memorial to his services is submitted for adoption. Mr. Perkins was Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Endowment and it will be necessary to elect a Trustee to the vacancy.

Respectfully submitted,

Elihu Root, *Chairman*,
James Brown Scott, *Secretary*.

IN MEMORIAM

ANDREW CARNEGIE
ROBERT BACON
JACOB GODFREY SCHMIDLAPP
GEORGE WALBRIDGE PERKINS

MEETING IN MEMORY

OF THE

LIFE AND WORK

OF

Andrew Carnegie

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 25, 1920, *at* 3.30

ENGINEERING SOCIETIES BUILDING

29 WEST THIRTY-NINTH STREET

NEW YORK

Under the Auspices of

AUTHORS CLUB

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ORATORIO SOCIETY

SAINT ANDREWS SOCIETY

UNITED ENGINEERING SOCIETY

PROGRAM

1. Chorus—"Laud Ye the Name of the Lord" *Rachmaninoff*
   Oratorio Society
   Albert Stoessel, *Conducting*
2. Invocation
   William Pierson Merrill, D.D.
3. Introductory Remarks
   J. Vipond Davies, *Presiding Officer*
4. Address
   John H. Finley
5. "Peace Hymn of the Republic" *Walter Damrosch*
   Words by Henry Van Dyke
   Oratorio Society
   Audience Participating
6. Address
   Elihu Root
7. Chorus—"Hallelujah Chorus" *Handel*
   Oratorio Society
   Albert Stoessel, *Conducting*

Committee of Arrangements

Walter Damrosch
J. Vipond Davies
Cleveland H. Dodge
John Erskine
Alex. C. Humphreys
Rossiter Johnson
George F. Kunz
Lewis Cass Ledyard
Henry Moir
Charles F. Rand
Calvin W. Rice
Charles M. Schwab

Peace Hymn of the Republic[1]

HENRY VAN DYKE — WALTER DAMROSCH

1 O Lord our God, Thy mighty hand
Hath made our country free;
From all her broad and happy land
May praise arise to Thee.
Fulfill the promise of her youth,
Her liberty defend;
By law and order, love and truth,
America befriend!

2. The strength of every State increase
In Union's golden chain;
Her thousand cities fill with peace,
Her million fields with grain.
The virtues of her mingled blood
In one new people blend;
By unity and brotherhood,
America befriend!

3. O suffer not her feet to stray;
But guide her untaught might,
That she may walk in peaceful day,
And lead the world in light.
Bring down the proud, lift up the poor,
Unequal ways amend;
By justice, nation-wide and sure,
America befriend!

4. Thro' all the waiting land proclaim
Thy gospel of good-will;
And may the music of Thy name
In every bosom thrill.
O'er hill and vale, from sea to sea,
Thy holy reign extend;
By faith and hope and charity,
America befriend!

[1]By Permission of the H. W. Gray Company

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of J. Vipond Davies, Presiding Officer

Mr. Carnegie and His Relation to Engineering and Industry

Mr. Carnegie's relation to engineering and industry constituted that aspect of his life in which he achieved such an immense measure of success that his name stands out in the forefront of all the captains of industry of these modern times.

It has commonly been said that this age in which we live is the age of steel. The leading figure in the steel industry has been Mr. Carnegie, who himself grew up with the age, and contributed preeminently to its marvelous development.

The war, has, however, advanced our country and the world far beyond the narrow limitations of steel into a new age of industries in which engineering, in its multitudinous branches, has been the directing agency in this recent growth of industrial productivity, which has outgrown even the dreams of the Eastern sages.

The industries which represent the skill and handiwork of man have placed labor in a new relation to the world, in a new democracy which Mr. Carnegie so long ago foresaw and for which he did so much.

In coupling the name of Mr. Carnegie with engineering and the industries it can truly be said that the three are inseparable. His biography clearly shows how his life from beginning to end was interwoven with the profession of engineering and the development of the industries.

His relations with engineering were reciprocal and each was necessary to the other, the directing mind of the master with the knowledge and skill of the engineer acting in close cooperation to the production of industry.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, the work of the engineer was not recognized as separate from the individual work of the architect, ironmaster, mason or miner, and it was only as science came to be applied to the arts that the engineer came into being as the master of applied science.

The industries are the practical application of science directed by the engineer through the instrumentality of labor, to the economic production of the supplies and material used by us in our daily life, and it is in directing the development of the industries of the country that Mr. Carnegie is best known to the world. Throughout his life he never hesitated to express his own indebtedness to those engineers who with him had worked unceasingly and persistently to the evolution of the new methods in the manfacture of steel.

It was his own genius for organization and leadership which made possible

the wonderful growth in what stands today as the greatest manufacturing industry in the world.

The memory of Mr. Carnegie is recorded today as an inspiration to those who follow in his footsteps, for he has left behind him those thousands who have learned from him, or to whom he has given the opportunity for learning, who will in turn pass on through the ages, the teaching of the example he has left.

Mr. Carnegie's work in the development of the railroad and steel industries was not accomplished in these days of extended transmission of knowledge and technical education, but had to be done under less advantageous conditions by forcing upon the old order scientific principles of which it knew nothing and was naturally skeptical. So his work had the greater merit, seeing that he was largely the pioneer in the field.

His great work in introducing a new process of steel manufacture illustrates very clearly many prominent traits of character which made up his wonderful personality. His broad vision was shown in his recognition of the possibilities of a new material of construction, while his courage and pertinacity in overcoming every obstacle to success were effectively employed in forcing upon conservative and unwilling engineers and railroad men this steel of which they were for many years doubtful and at costs which his keen understanding of the economics of production made possible.

Since the development of the industries by the engineers under the leadership of Mr. Carnegie was his life work, today it is my privilege to say a word as to his recognition of, and great contribution to, the profession. The building of this home of the engineering profession in which we are assembled, owes its origin to Mr. Carnegie's expressed appreciation of the engineer and the part which the profession had played in his great business success. The various engineering societies now having their headquarters here have an aggregate association of something like 75,000 members.

When Mr. Carnegie decided on his munificent contribution to the engineers he had several informal discussions with a committee before he reached the point of making the definite proposition in writing and an interesting incident occurred on that occasion, illustrative of yet other traits which conduced to his success. Having taken an embossed sheet of paper and pen, he proceeded to write—"It will give me great pleasure to give, say one million dollars, to erect a suitable union building for you all" and while writing an ink spot spoiled the sheet. He then folded the sheet, tore it across and on the undamaged portion rewrote his formal offer.

In a later letter on the subject of this gift, he illustrates still another of his personal viewpoints, when he expressed the desire to "have this union of science in every department, cooperating and hence strengthening our country in its triumphal march of individualism against militarism." The inability of the civil engineers to participate and cooperate at that time was a great disappointment to Mr. Carnegie; but I am glad that during his life they decided to abandon

their old home and throw in their lot here, by enlarging the building for their proper accommodation, so that today the profession presents a solid front to the world and boasts of the possession of the greatest purely technical library in the world, as well as the largest aggregation of professional engineering society membership anywhere housed together.

Already the growth of the profession has been so great that we are quite unable to furnish accommodation to various associate societies whom we would gladly house with us under the same roof. This surely fulfills the vision which Mr. Carnegie saw when he built this home for engineers, when in his presentation address, delivered in this Auditorium at the opening exercises, he said: "I look forward to the future of this building, and I know that the organizations to whom it is devoted will advance and continue to meet the developing needs of the age as the years roll on."

The great wealth which the application of his genius brought to Mr. Carnegie, he used to a large extent during his life, to further the cause and benefit those who are workers in the industries he fathered, thereby laying the foundation for larger results and greater expansion of those interests in the future years.

It is seldom given to the world to express to any man during his life the appreciation in which he is held by his fellowmen for his successful accomplishments and extended beneficences, but Mr. Carnegie acted during his life as a trustee of his great wealth, to so apply it for the public good that the world was able while he yet lived to give its expression to his works. Nevertheless it is our privilege, especially as engineers, today, to express the debt which the world owes to him as judged by the evidence of the varied works and interests, the sum of which made up his long, happy and useful life.

Address of John H. Finley

He Was A Weaver's Lad

He was a weaver's lad— this boy bearing the name of the practical disciple, Andrew, who became the patron saint of Scotland. I say "practical" for it was Andrew who said when asked how the thousands on the shores of Galilee were to be fed: "There is a lad here which hath five barley loaves and two small fishes, but what are they among so many?" And had this disciple beheld, in the year of his Lord 1847, in the land to which he had become patron saint, the want and misery due to the stopping of the hand looms by the coming of steam machines, and had then seen this wee Dunfermline lad, he might have made much the same remark: "There's a lad here wi' his five senses and twa' sma' han's, but what are they amang sae mony?"

We say that it was a miracle that was performed on the shores of Galilee, when the boy's meager store was suddenly multiplied to feed the thousands. Was it not as great a miracle that the seemingly petty store of the weaver's lad was transformed (in what is but a moment of time in His sight to whom a thousand years are but as yesterday) not only into food but books and music and pictures and other human blessings; and not for a few thousands only but for millions?

In this miracle the Scotch lad had, to be sure, an active, aggressive, shrewd part, but it was no less a miracle, and it was one (and I say it in all reverence) that could not have been wrought even by the Almighty with the aid of this eager lad anywhere else than in the free air of America.

I suspect that my knowledge of chemistry is no greater than that of Lord Morley, whose observations about phosphorus in iron ore have just been read, but I am informed that there are mysterious substances known to chemists as "catalysts" which have such potency that they bring into solution elements before seemingly insoluble and yet are themselves apparently unchanged—substances often so infinitesimal in relation to the effects they produce that it is (according to one who was a teacher in a Carnegie laboratory) as if you were "to dissolve a whole island by throwing a few crystals upon it." So the catalytic, robust, sunny spirit of this youth, who never grew old, did incomparable, incommensurate things in the earth.

It was not merely nor chiefly that he touched the ore that was lying in the far hills beyond Superior, and transferred it from there into a girder, a bridge, a steel rail, a bit of armor plate, a beam for a skyscraper, and in utter silence, as I have witnessed the process in the flaming sheds of Pittsburgh, with the calm pushing and pulling of a few levers, the accurate shoveling by a few hands and the deliberate testing by a few eyes—wonderful as that all was and is.

And it was not even that in every luminous, white-hot ingot swung in the steel mills in the smoky valley of the Younghiegheny there was something for the pension of a university professor, something for an artist in New York or Paris, something for an astronomer on a California mountain, something for the mathematician over his computations, something for the historian over his archives, something for the teacher in the school upon the hill above, something for every worshiper in hundreds of kirks and churches, something for everyone of hundreds of thousands of readers in libraries from Scotland to California, as a result of the multiplication of the childish store in his hands as he stood an immigrant lad on the shores of America, with a "fair and free field" before him. For besides those there were gifts to millions more than were reached directly and indirectly by the steel ingots. Those were gifts of the alchemy of his personality that touched the spirits and imaginations of men. The material gifts were like those of Prometheus who bestowed upon mortal man the "bright glory of fire that all arts spring from." His supreme gifts to mankind were, however, not those of a demi-god, a titan, working with the elements of the earth and looking down upon them as inferior creatures for whom he had made sacrifices. They were those of a very human, mortal man who loved his fellowmen, who suffered and fought and wept and rejoiced with them as one of them.

He no doubt would not wish me to trace the name Andrew, which his Scotch mother gave him, back to the Greek, but it was in its origin, nevertheless, the Greek name for "man" and he might have belonged to any age of men beginning with that of Moses or Pericles. He would have stood unembarrassed before any ruler from Pharaoh to Napoleon, and did so stand before the emperors, kings and presidents of his own day. Long before he became famous for his wealth, I have read, he was a personal friend of Gladstone, Matthew Arnold, Herbert Spencer, John Morley and James Bryce. And, after he had become a world figure, he was still the friend of the lowliest and the poorest.

He was a triumphant democrat with a genius for friendships, as great as the genius in the field in which the word "genius" has been transmuted into the "engine" and the "engineer," with a passionate love for America, with an international mind having an orbit of concern for the cosmos (but with Dunfermline and Pittsburgh as its two foci) and with a love for all things beautiful, but with a preordained taste for that which had a Caledonian form or fragrance or melody in it; the "auld gray toon"; the abbey bell sounding the curfew; the scent of the heather; "songs possessed of souls caught from living lips"; the Scotch mist even which served to remind him "of the mysterious ways of Providence."

And yet he was not servile to his ancestry, the strain of whose thoughts had run through the "radical breasts" (a phrase he has himself used) of his parents. In his love for the voice of the organ, for example, he doubtless shocked many of his psalm-singing compatriots as did David when he danced before the ark of the Lord. And how pleased Mr. Carnegie would be with the program of

this afternoon, dominated by music and crowned by an oratorio, of which he expressed such discerning appreciation in his delightful story of his travels in Great Britain, for he once said that those who thought music an unworthy intruder in the domain of sacred dogma should remember that the Bible tells us that in Heaven music is the principal source of happiness. "—the sermon seems nowhere—and it may go hard with such as fail to give it the first place on earth."

He has, unwittingly no doubt, made the best characterization of himself in the definition of every Scotchman "who is two Scotchmen"—

> As his land has the wild, barren, stern crags and mountain peaks around which the tempests blow, and also the smiling valleys below where the wild rose, the foxglove and the bluebell blossom, so the Scotchman, with his rugged and hard intellect in his head above, has a heart below capable of being touched to the finest issues. . . . Poetry and Song are a part of his nature. Touch his head and he will begin and argue with you to the last; touch his heart and he falls upon your breast.

These two men did not struggle against each other in the one energetic restless body, but helped each other. The poet enhanced the deed (for as Mr. Carnegie said, "to do things is only one-half the battle; to be able to tell the world what you have done, that is the greater accomplishment.") And the hard-headed man put the poetry into everyday life, with an enchanting book, or the celestial voice of an organ, or an illuminating statistic, or an eternal truth for the first time discovered, or a telescope revealing the differing glory of the stars, or the stirring voice of the bag-pipes making the day, or a symphony ending it.

The Scotch minister whom I heard preach this morning referred to a little shop in Edinburgh in whose window little figures of kings and queens and princes and others were displayed, with the sign (which has given title to one of Robert Louis Stevenson's essays) "A Penny Plain, Tu'pence Colored." Mr. Carnegie's figures were all colored—colored by his generous, warm heart.

The two Scotchmen in him were held together in happy partnership by an American tolerance, a New World breadth of generosity (which is not usually associated with the Scotch) and a western humor which had, however, a tang of the moors in it, and was ever conscious of the ethics of the golf links. I have a vivid memory of one characteristic bit of his kindly quiet wit at my own expense. We had played a few holes in my first game of golf with him, when my conscience, beginning to trouble me, provoked me to question whether I ought to be out in the country away from my work playing golf with him. "Oh," he said, quick as a flash, "Pritchett and I will both certify that you are not playing golf."

And when we played our last game together, it was out by the Dornoch Firth, in the first days of the Great War, in August of 1914. After he had finished

the game, which he must have divined would be the last, he gave me his putter with this inscription in his own hand: "A very close game: couldn't have been closer so equally and badly we play."

Ah! If we could all but play the game of life as manfully and cheerfully, as eagerly, as fearlessly, as hopefully, and with as kind a heart as he, we might be proud of our score, even though he, a Scotchman, would go no farther than to admit of his own "it micht ha' bin waur."

Beyond the dark Brook of the Shadow he's gone
On over the hills and the moors toward the dawn
This Laird o' the castle by Dornoch's gray Firth
To find the Great Peace he had sought for the earth.

Address of Elihu Root

The possession and expenditure of great wealth obscures the personality of the possessor. The worship of wealth, whether it be that kind of worship which finds its expression in mere longing for possession or in sycophancy, or whether it be that kind of worship which finds its expression in envy and bitterness, will dazzle the eyes and prevent people from seeing through to the man. It is very much as with the people of a strange and ill-understood race; the racial similarity obscures the individual characteristics and they will all look alike to us.

A great many people of the United States and of the world have learned to think of Mr. Carnegie as a man who amassed a great fortune and had given away large sums of money. That is a very inadequate and inaccurate view. He did amass a great fortune and he did in one sense, a very limited sense, give away great sums of money; but he was predominantly of the constructive type. He was a great constructor, a builder, never passive. He disposed of his fortune exactly as he made it. He belonged to that great race of nation builders who have made the progress and development of America the wonder of the world; who have exhibited the capacity of free undominated individual genius for building up the highest example of the possibilities of freedom for nations.

Mr. Carnegie, in amassing his fortune, always gave more than he gained. His money was not taken from others. His money was the by-product of great constructive ability which served others; which contributed to the great business enterprises that he conceived and built up and carried to success, and through those enterprises gave to the world great advance in comfort and the possibilities of broader and happier life. The steps by which mankind proceeds from naked savagery to civilized society are the steps that are taken by just such constructive geniuses.

When Mr. Carnegie had amassed his fortune, the magnitude of which rested upon the introduction into America of the Bessemer method of making steel, with all the advance and the progress that that means; when Mr. Carnegie had amassed his fortune and had come to the point of retiring from money making enterprise, it was impossible for him to retire. His nature made it impossible that he should become passive and he turned his constructive genius and the great constructive energy that urged him on, by the necessities of his nature, toward the use of the money which he had amassed. He never, in the ordinary sense, gave away his fortune. He used his fortune, and what may seem to some casual observer the giving away, was the securing of agents for the use of his fortune to carry out his purposes.

He brought to the work in the second period of his life, this greatest work of his life, some very marked characteristics. First was the urgency to do,—to continue to do something. Another was the distinct understanding of the difference between using his money for the purpose that he had in his own mind and being a mark for others, to make an instrument of him for their purposes. He also had a very distinct understanding of the difficulty of making a good use of money. He knew how easy it was to waste it. He knew what a danger there was of doing harm by the use of it, and he applied to the problem of its use the same sagacity that he applied to the problem of making steel and marketing it.

Long ago before he retired from business, he had stated his idea in an article in the *North American Review*, where he said:

"The main consideration should be to help others by helping them to help themselves, to provide a part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so, to give those who desire to rise, the aid by which they may rise; to assist—but rarely or never to do all. Neither the individual, nor the race is improved by alms giving." So he never held the grab bag, and he brought to the consideration of the way in which he should use his money not only great sagacity but great pains and assiduity, and continuous labor.

Another thing which played a great part in this second period of his life was the fact that he had a very definite conception as to what would contribute to human happiness. In that conception, the mere possession of money played no part. It did not enter his mind that he could in general make men happy by giving them money; but he had brought from his boyhood memories of the longings of the little Scotch weaver's boy. From close, intimate contact with the poor, from the daily round of dreary toil, he had brought a knowledge of the human heart, such as Lincoln brought to the problems of our country, during the stress of the Civil War, from his experience as a boy.

Doubtless as he watched the stationary engine which was his task in Pittsburgh, as he stood at the machine of the telegrapher, as he went to his daily duties as Division Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, he had his dreams. He had built his palaces in the clouds and from the heart of the boy, that never left him, he translated his longings into his theory of the possibilities of human happiness.

He said something in his letter to the trustees in establishing the Dunfermline Trust which told the story. He said to them that it gave him great pleasure "to bring into the monotonous lives of the toiling masses of Dunfermline more of sweetness and light."

Then there is the last characteristic, which I will mention. He was the kindliest man I ever knew. Wealth had brought to him no hardening of the heart, nor made him forget the dreams of youth. Kindly, affectionate, charitable in his judgments, unrestrained in his sympathy, noble in his impulses, I wish all the people who think of him as a rich man giving away money he did not need,

could know of the hundreds of kindly things that he did unknown to the world, the old friends remembered, the widows and children cared for, the tender memories of his youth and all who were associated with him.

And so with this great constructive energy, with this discriminating Scotch sagacity, with this accurate conception of the possibilities of the use of money, with those definite views as to the sources of human happiness, and with this heart overflowing with kindness, he entered upon his second career, undertaking to use these hundreds of millions, and not to waste them.

The first thing that he did was to turn to the associates of his early struggles and his early successes. He had done many charitable things, as men ordinarily do, while still engaged in business. But when he came to the dividing line between money getting and the money using epochs, he turned to Pittsburgh. And he first attempted there to apply his theories of the possibilities of giving happiness. He began with a library, the endowment of a great library and he tells us what it was that led him to that.

It was the memory of a library of four hundred volumes which Colonel Anderson of Allegheny, over across the river from Pittsburgh, had opened for the use of the boys when Andrew Carnegie was too poor to buy a book. The first thing he did was to use his money to swing open for others the doors of knowledge which gave to him the bright light, the little learning, that could come from Colonel Anderson's four hundred volumes.

He endowed a great library. And then he established the Institute of Pittsburgh. The first great reaction of this hard headed steel maker was the establishment of the Institute of Pittsburgh, in which he invested nearly $30,000,000. Under it he established an art museum and a music hall and a museum of science. For he knew, by the knowledge that came from the experience of his life, that after men and women have all that is necessary to eat and to wear and for shelter, come great opportunities for increase of happiness in the cultivation of taste, in the cultivation of appreciation for the beautiful in the world.

And so after the library came the art museum, and then the music hall and then the museum of science. And these he followed with the establishment of a technical school for the education of the working people of Pittsburgh.

The next development was at the home of his childhood, his parents' home in Dunfermline. I have read to you the reason which he gave in his letter to the Trustees of Dunfermline, and he worked that out by presenting the Trustees for the use of the people of Dunfermline, these toiling masses, a great park in which he set gardens, playgrounds, gymnasiums, swimmimg baths, and a sanitary school and a library in order that recreation and joyful things might come to lighten up the days of toil.

Then he made his gift to the four universities of Scotland—St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Ten million dollars he gave to these universities, toward which he had never been able to bend his steps in youth, one-half to be used for improving the university and developing the teaching of science,

history, economics and modern languages, and one-half to pay the fees of the young men of Scotland who were unable to pay for themselves, giving to all the Scotch boys the opportunity that had been denied to him.

And then, having expressed his feelings for the home of his childhood and the home of his success, he broadened out, and established and endowed richly the Institution of Washington, the institution for research and the application of science for the good of mankind.

Then, still broadening, he established the Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, with its pension fund, so that the teachers of America might not look forward to poverty in the old age that follows the laborious life of the teacher. And he added to that a separate fund for investigation and study into the methods of teaching under which teaching is gradually being standardized, and its defects, faults and shortcomings discovered so that this institution is not only providing for the teachers but it is providing for systematic education by the teachers.

Broadening his view again he turned his attention to the maintenance of international peace, and with an impulse so natural to establish a hero fund for encouraging and noting properly the heroism of those who lived in peace and in competition with the popular worship of heroism in war. That fund is being administered by trustees and heroic acts in civil life are being signalized by medals, by money gifts, by providing homes, by pensions for widows—whatever seems the most appropriate to the occasion.

And he moved one step further and established the Endowment for International Peace. That was designed to go a little farther than the mere expression of feeling, the feeling that war is horrible, detestable, the feeling that peace should be made permanent and secure. That Endowment was designed and adapted to securing the evidence upon which argument and persuasion in favor of peace and against war may be based; and it has been publishing and making available for all scholars, all students, all intelligent men, the true facts regarding international relations, the law of nations, the rights and wrongs and duties of nations, in the great books that have been written from which men may learn their international rights and duties. In another division it has been making careful scientific studies of the economics and history of war, and in another promoting international intercourse and education. Incidentally, as he was developing these plans in all these different directions, he seized upon special occasions for doing particular things which would further his plans. He built the great Peace Palace at The Hague, to strike the imagination of the world with the idea of peace rather than war. He built the Pan American building at Washington, to furnish a center for good understanding and friendly intercourse between the peoples of North and South America. He built a great building for the Central American Court of Justice in Costa Rica. He established another trust for the special use of the churches in their work in favor of peace.

All those things were but special occasions and incidents in the course of his development of his great plans. The plans, of course, grew as he went on, and then having his five great trusts in this country, he added to his trusts in Europe by creating the United Kingdom Trust, which was chiefly for the purpose of building libraries; and he developed his own work of library building in America, as a result of which nearly 3,000 libraries built by Andrew Carnegie now open their doors to the people of America as Colonel Anderson opened his door to Andrew Carnegie so many years before.

And as he studied education, he turned his mind toward the colleges and chiefly toward the poor colleges, chiefly toward the smaller colleges to which the poor boys go, and with the most solicitous examination and discrimination, he put his money where he thought it would be used to best advantage here and there, until finally more than five hundred American colleges are using his money today—money amounting to over $20,000,000.

And before the end came he organized a single corporation. He incorporated his activities in the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and he put into the Board of Trustees of that corporation the heads of the five principal, special institutions he had created in this country—the President of the Institute of Pittsburgh, the President of the Research Institution of Washington, the President of the Endowment for International Peace, the President of the Hero Fund and the President of the Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. They make up the majority of the Board of Trustees of the new corporation. To that corporation he gave the great bulk of the remainder of his fortune amassed during his lifetime, $125,000,000, to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States; and he continued as president of that corporation to direct its affairs and the use of its money during his life.

I said that he had not been giving away his money in the strict sense. Far from it. He secured as the agents for the use of his money for the accomplishment of his noble and beneficent purposes, a great body of men whom no salaries could have attracted, whom no payment could have induced to serve; but who served because the inherent value of the purposes for which Mr. Carnegie summoned them commanded them to serve. Joseph H. Choate, John Hay, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, President Charles W. Eliot, Andrew D. White, Major Higginson, Alexander Agassiz, John S. Billings, John L. Cadwalader and many others who have already passed from their active labor, as has Mr. Carnegie. Of that group President Eliot alone remains, as President Emeritus of Harvard, a wise observer of the development of the times. That group of citizens to which Mr. Carnegie gave the control of the institutions he created has been endeavoring to seek and find, as one by one they pass off the stage, new and competent agents to execute Mr. Carnegie's great policies.

The world has not been able yet to appreciate Mr. Carnegie. We who knew him and loved him and honored him, can now express our judgment, but we are

about to pass away. Yet the works that he inaugurated are upon so great a scale and are designed to accomplish such great purposes that as the years, the generations and the centuries go on, they will the more clearly exhibit the true character of the founder. Centuries later men of science will be adding to human knowledge, teachers will be opening the book of learning to the young, friends of peace will be winning the children of civilization from brutality to kindliness; and Andrew Carnegie, the little Scotch weaver's son, will live in the ever more manifest greatness of the achievement that was the outcome of his great and noble heart.

Letters of Condolence

Letter of Viscount James Bryce

Since I can not be present at the meeting to commemorate Mr. Carnegie's life and services to the world, may I be permitted to convey in a few sentences the impression which his character and career made upon me.

He combined two qualities not often found in conjunction—an ardent enthusiasm for the ends which inspired his efforts, and a cautious practical judgment in selecting the means by which those ends could be attained. He was perfectly clear as to what he wished to do, perfectly resolute in adhering to what he deemed the best methods for succeeding. Concentration was for him the secret of success. By it he had attained wealth; by it, that is to say, by doing a few things skilfully and thoroughly, he endeavored to spend his wealth in the ways most likely to do good. It was thus that he was enabled to accomplish so much.

A man's quality is tested by the ideals he forms and by his resolute persistence in giving effect to them. If I may venture to sum up these ideals, they were the following: a general diffusion of knowledge through all classes, the advancement of science and its application to the betterment of human life, the provision for the masses of the people of the means of enjoying the best pleasures, the establishment of peace and goodwill among all nations.

These were noble ideals and there was an element of genius in the clearness with which he saw them, in the steadiness with which he pursued them and in the presight which made him feel that he must not prescribe too minutely the means by which his wishes should be carried out in the future by those to whom he entrusted his splendid benefactions.

He will be remembered as one of the first who enounced, and perhaps the first who carried out on a vast scale, the principle that wealth is a trust for the community and that he who has obtained it ought to begin at once in his own time to discharge the duties that trust imposes.

By those among us who knew him intimately for many years he will be remembered as a most genial and a most loyal friend, simple in his life, open in his thoughts, happy in trying to spread happiness around him, whether in the dear land of his birth or in his adopted country—the great Republic of whose citizenship he was so proud.

James Bryce.

April 1, 1920.

Letter of Viscount John Morley of Blackburn

Flowermead, Wimbledon Park,
Surrey, Easter Day, 1920.

Dear Sir: You will believe how heartily alive I am to the honour of your invitation. Warmly do I prize the kindness and good feeling that makes the various bodies for whom you speak desire to join me with Mr. Elihu Root and other Americans of note in this loyal commemoration of a truly remarkable man who belonged to both countries and with whom I enjoyed a very close and, as you say, almost a lifelong friendship.

I had been made known to him in the early eighties by Matthew Arnold, and I had my last letter from him in 1918—a letter as fervid in its attachment as any of the long catalogue that had gone before.

As for a message I can hardly do more than repeat what I have often said about him in this long space of time.

He was already beginning to prove his variety of social and intellectual interests, his originality, fulness of mind and bold strength of character, as much or more in the distribution of wealth as he had shown skill and foresight in its acquisition. His extraordinary freshness of spirit easily carried Arnold, Herbert Spencer, myself and afterwards many others high over an occasional crudity in phrase or haste in judgment, such as may befall the best of us in ardent hours.

People with a genius for picking up pins made as much as they liked of this. It was wiser to do justice to his spacious feel for the great objects in the world—for knowledge and its spread, for invention, light, improvement of social relations, equal chances to the talents, the passion for peace. These are glorious things; a touch of exaggeration in expression is easy to set right. Only let us think how few among our contemporaries have gone through the manifold perils of prosperity more beneficently. How many or how few, who have fought for material success for themselves, have been more eager and more active in discovering and opening new avenues of success for others? Such was our friend.

He lived and worked with his ideals, drudging over them every day of his life. He maintained the habit of applying his own mind either to the multifarious projects that flooded in upon him from outside, or to elaborating the independent notions that sprang up within him from his observant common sense in union with the milk of human kindness. Rapidity, energy, confident enthusiasm, were the mark of his days. High spirits are to be no small part of the whole duty of man. Invincible optimism, either as to the whole world's progressive course, or the disappearance of obstacles to any wise enterprise in particular, sometimes, I will confess, provoked a fugitive shadow of impatience in those like myself perhaps unhappily of a less mercurial temperament. It was in fact his key to life when he said that, having retired from all other business, his business had become to do as much good as he could in the world. This was no mere sentence—it was no more than plain and literal truth. This is the double aim and intention and purpose, coherently and perseveringly maintained to the end of long days, that make his name a word for an energetic and memorable career of private duty and public service. Though the most intrepid of men like many others of that sort, he did not fail in the tests of common sense and prudence; at the same time, it was a common thing with him to think ahead and march in advance of what was expected or demanded from him either by individuals or by companies of them.

He often explained to me how one of the master difficulties in the production of steel was the unwelcome presence of phosphorus, and I in turn explained to him how one of the master objects in literature and in common life is to get the phosphorus out of human nature. In this great task nobody was more eager to learn in all its bearings the new spirit of his times, and nobody more ready to watch, measure, apply alike its denials and its affirmatives. His faith in books and education as correctives of the hated phosphorus was attested by the uncounted collections of books with which out of his affluence he endowed both sides of the Atlantic.

Difference of taste and opinion about books and willingness to tolerate them are true tests and trials of friendship. Our friend and I found plenty of such differences, and I had an instinct that he did not cordially fall in with the maxim that in criticism we should have preferences but few exclusions. Enough after all that he had rich gaiety of heart—a fervent love of Burns and a radiant, well-equipped, and ever flowing enthusiasm for Shakespeare. His ready delight in all the fair scenes and seasons of outside nature was matched by his interest in the cares, concerns and converse of mankind's curious world inside.

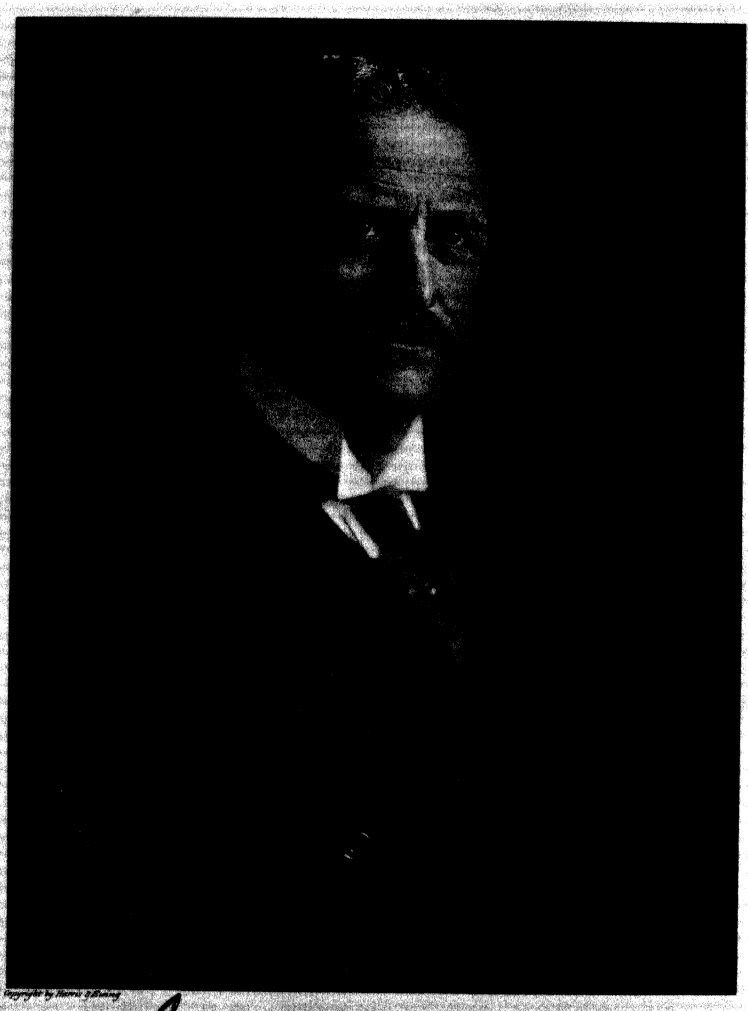
One of the leading elements in him was his implacable hatred of War, as the only way or the best way of adjusting international quarrels. Passionate was his impatience with all the plausible sophisms and impious platitudes with which statesmen will strive to hide away their short sight, their costly blunders, their irremediable and uncompensated catastrophies.

But here full time has come for me, with sincere respects, to bring my message to a close.

Yours very faithfully,

JOHN MORLEY.

CALVIN W. RICE, ESQ.



Robert Bacon

July 5, 1860 - May 29, 1919

ROBERT BACON

On the twenty-ninth day of May, 1919, Robert Bacon, a Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and at one time Assistant, and Secretary of State, Ambassador to France, Major, Lieutenant Colonel, and Colonel in the American Expeditionary Forces in France, died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, in a hospital in the City of New York.

The thing at hand he did, and did well, in college, in business, in civil life and in the military service of his country.

As undergraduate of Harvard, in the class of his life-long friend Theodore Roosevelt, he was a good student and easily first in athletics.

In business he became the partner and confident of the late John Pierpont Morgan.

Appointed Assistant Secretary of State by Secretary Root, that great statesman and competent judge of men said of him and to him:

> You have proved yourself far more able and forceful than I dared to hope—possessed of courage to take responsibility and conduct great affairs without flinching or the loss of judgment or nerve—competent to fill any post of government with distinction and success. More than that, you have had the imagination to realize the ultimate objects of policy, and tireless energy and enthusiasm and self devotion in pressing towards those objects, and your brave-hearted cheerfulness and power of friendship and steadfast loyalty have been noble and beautiful.
>
> I am sure you have a still more distinguished career before you for all who love you to rejoice in.
>
> I count the day when you were surprised by the offer of the post of Assistant Secretary of State one of the most fortunate of my life.

Of him as Secretary of State, the late British Ambassador to the United States, James Bryce, has written:

> How often have I recalled the work we did together for furthering friendship and good relations between America and England, and how pleasant it was to deal with him. Such was the candour of his mind and the earnestness of his wish to settle everything in a way fair and just all round,—the right temper in which a Secretary of State in any country should approach his tasks.

Years after the end of his embassy to France, Saint-Dié, whose scholars gave the name of America to the New World, voted to give the name of America to one of its streets, in commemoration of the Four Hundredth Anniversary of

its discovery and in further commemoration of the entry of the United States into the war; and the Committee in charge recalled and reproduced the following passages from Mr. Bacon's address, delivered in French at the Anniversary:

> Après que la Lorraine française se fût penchée sur notre berceau pour nous donner un nom, ce fut la plus grande France qui jeta dans la balance son épée pour nous donner une indépendance. Ma présence au milieu de vous, vous prouve que l'Amérique n'oublie pas et conserve à jamais une place à part dans son affection à la jolie cité vosgienne de Saint-Dié, à la belle France. . . .
>
> Cette vieille et si pittoresque ville de Saint-Dié, où je reçois aujourd'hui une si cordiale et si touchante hospitalité, n'est pas seulement le lieu où furent tenus les fonts baptismaux du Nouveau Monde, elle fut aussi un centre intellectuel remarquable, à une époque où ils n'étaient pas communs, et elle a sa part d'influence dans le grand mouvement d'expansion des lettres au début du XVI^e^ siècle.
>
> Pour vous, Français, elle rappelle un passé héroique et brillant dont témoignent tant d'autres villes dans votre beau pays dont la longue existence historique a été si féconde en événements mémorables; mais pour nous, Américains, elle évoque le souvenir d'un fait unique dans son genre et l'image de Saint-Dié, où l'Amérique reçut son nom, prend place dans nos coeurs à côté de celle de Versailles, où l'Amérique contracta avec la France une alliance indissoluble.

On May 1, 1918, General John J. Pershing, Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, thus wrote of his services as Commandant of Chaumont:

> I take this occasion to express to you my earnest appreciation of the wholehearted way in which you have constantly performed every duty given you since our departure from New York last May. Your enthusiasm, your willingness and singleness of purpose are an example to all of us.

Of his services as Chief of the American Mission with the British and attached to the Staff of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in France, Sir Douglas said in his official dispatch to the British Government:

> My thanks are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Bacon who as Chief of the American Mission attached to my Headquarters has been able to give me advice and assistance of the greatest value on many occasions.

And in a personal letter, Sir Douglas wrote:

> We treated him quite as one of ourselves, and indeed I had no Military secrets to conceal from him. . . .
>
> I shall never forget what Robert Bacon did to help me during the last year of the war.

And the Chief of Staff of the British Army in France, General Sir H. A. Lawrence, wrote:

> I wish I could make clear the inestimable service which he rendered to the Allied cause by acting as head of the Mission attached to our Headquarters.
>
> His high character and splendid enthusiasm inspired all with whom he came in contact while his great experience made him a guide to whom all of us instinctively turned. . . .
>
> He has given his life to his country just as much as if he had actually fallen on the field of battle, and I can assure you that his memory will long be cherished by the British Army.

On January 26, 1919, he was thus cited by Marshal Pétain, in Special Orders to the French Army:

> Officier supérieur de haute valeur professionnelle et morale.—A comme Ambassadeur des Etats Unis en France, puissamment contribué au resserrement des liens d'amitié unissant les deux nations.—Nommé Aide de Camp du Général Commandant en Chef des Forces Américaines au début de l'entrée en guerre des Etats Unis, s'est dépensé sans compter, et par son activité inlassable, et ses qualités d'organisateur a grandement contribué d'abord à la formation, puis au succès des Armées Américaines.

He was also cited and received the Distinguished Service Medal of the United States in the following terms:

> For exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services. He served with great credit and distinction as Post Commandant of General Headquarters and as Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief. By his untiring efforts as Chief of the American Mission at British General Headquarters, he has performed with marked ability innumerable duties requiring great tact and address.

Finally, the spirit in which he met and performed his duties, whether they concerned his country, the great or the lowly, and the impression left on all who came in contact with him, is evidenced by this little letter written by one Marguerite Gilly, under date of December 1, 1917, and addressed to him as "The Commandant, American Headquarters," at Chaumont:

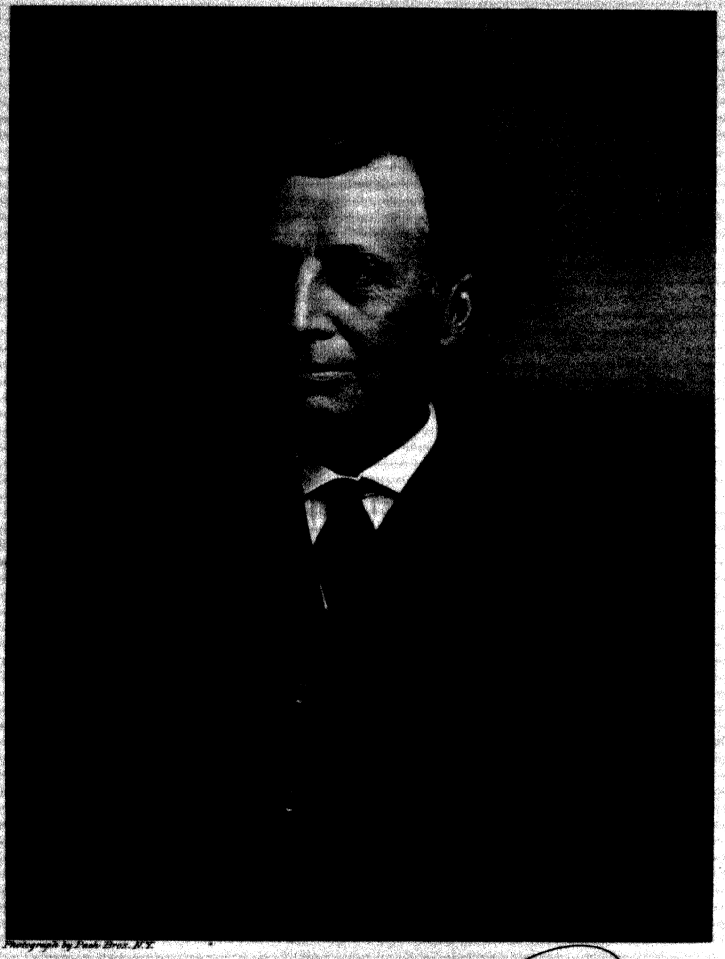
> Pardon me sir, for the liberty I take in writing to you. Permit me sir, to send you fifty francs in order to place a wreath on the grave of the little American Soldier who died far away from his country—coming to the aid of France. I did not myself dare to carry it there, else I should already have done so. Do not refuse sir, the humble offering of a French woman who loves America above all things; who in memory of those dear dead who have died for their country is proud and happy to offer a wreath to the American Soldier who died far away from his mother, in order to come to the assistance of the children of France.

I shall always remember sir, that you gave me permission to set up a little stand opposite the barracks—Thank you sir. I beg you sir, not to refuse to place a wreath for this little soldier. I believe it will bring happiness to my husband. I did not dare do it myself.

Thanking you sir,—accept my sincere good wishes for America and for France.

Of a truth, the bravest are the tenderest.

Resolved, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace extend their profound sympathy to the family of Mr. Bacon, and inscribe in their permanent records this tribute to his character as a man and his public services as citizen and soldier.



Photograph by Pach Bros. N.Y.

J. F. Schmidt

September 7, 1849 – December 18, 1919

JACOB GODFREY SCHMIDLAPP

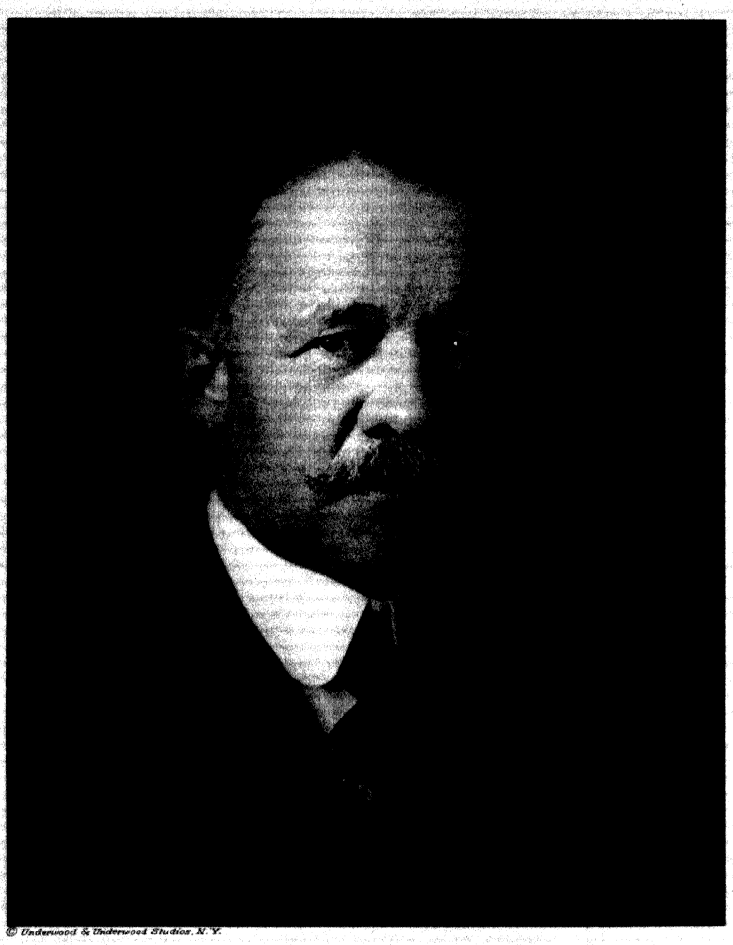
Jacob Godfrey Schmidlapp, a Founder Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, died suddenly in New York on December 18, 1919, in his seventy-first year.

Mr. Schmidlapp was a representative citizen of Cincinnati, prominent in its business affairs, generous in his gifts to its institutions, and beloved by his fellow citizens for his personality and his public spirit. Always modest and retiring, even to the point of self-effacement, he was recognized as a man of strong convictions and of unbending loyalty to right thinking. Notable among his benefactions was Washington Terrace, in Walnut Hills, where he built four hundred homes for negroes. He was profoundly interested in the colored race, and proud of the fact that the settlement he founded showed lower death rates and lower crime rates than any other similar community. "This work is my Church," he was wont to say.

He was the organizer of the Union Savings Bank and Trust Company, one of the largest financial institutions of the Middle West; founder of the Charlotte R. Schmidlapp Fund for the Assistance of Young Women in Gaining an Education; builder of the Annex of the Cincinnati Art Museum, of the dormitory building of the College of Music, and one of its trustees; a trustee also of the Art School, the Law School, the May Festival Association, and the Colored Industrial School. He was identified with many of the great business enterprises of his adopted city. His beautiful home overlooking the Ohio River was the center of a generous hospitality.

Mr. Schmidlapp was deeply interested in the work of the Carnegie Endowment. He rarely failed to attend its Trustee meetings, and was profoundly committed to the principle of international justice in the settlement of all world questions. His associates of the Board of Trustees cherish his memory and direct that an engrossed copy of this tribute be forwarded to his family.

> *Resolved*, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace extend their profound sympathy to the family of Mr. Schmidlapp, and inscribe in their permanent records this tribute to his character as a man and his services as a citizen.



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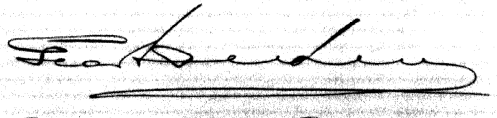

January 31, 1862 - June 18, 1920

GEORGE WALBRIDGE PERKINS

George Walbridge Perkins, of New York, an original trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and chairman of its Finance Committee since its organization, died June 18, 1920, in his fifty-ninth year. His death was indirectly due to an attack of pneumonia when engaged in Y. M. C. A. work in France during the war.

Mr. Perkins was a remarkable combination of the idealist and the practical business man.

With a public school education, he began life as an office boy in the Chicago office of the New York Life Insurance Company, rapidly worked his way from post to post, and as chairman of the Finance Committee introduced a series of reforms.

In 1900, Mr. Perkins became the representative of J. P. Morgan and Company in the organization of the vast industrial combinations which date from that period. He helped to organize the International Harvester Company, and was a prime mover in building up the United States Steel Corporation and a number of other organizations.

His absorbing interest was as a pioneer in the movement to create a better understanding between capital and labor.

Mr. Perkins was a man of tireless energy, of clear vision, of constructive ability, and of integrity of purpose. Thus it came about that he was sought as a counselor and coadjutor in a vast number of public enterprises, and was a figurehead in none.

We mourn the loss of a useful citizen, a leader in our industrial development, and a devoted friend.

Resolved, that the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace extend their profound sympathy to the family of Mr. Perkins, and inscribe in their permanent records this tribute to his character as a man and his services as a citizen.

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Library of Congress, Washington
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Army War College Library, Washington.
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Navy Department Library, Washington.
Howard University Library, Washington.
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College of Hawaii Library, Honolulu.

[1] Revised to February 1, 1921.

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Public Library, Haverhill.
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Public Library, Seattle.
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The Library of the Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, London.
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Royal Society, Burlington House, London, W.
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University College Library, London.
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Library of the League of Nations, 117 Piccadilly W. 1, London
Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London, W. C. 2.
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International Institute of Agriculture (Canadian Branch) Library, Ottawa.
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Tasmania

University of Tasmania, Hobart.

Wales

University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.
University College of North Wales, Bangor.
University College of South Wales, Cardiff.

BULGARIA

University of Sofia, Sofia.

CHILE

Liceo de Concepción, Concepción.
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Santiago.
Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago.
Universidad Católica de Santiago, Santiago.
Universidad de Chile, Santiago.

CHINA

Canton Christian College, Canton.
Foreign Office, Peking.
Library of the American Legation, Peking.
Peking Club Library, Peking.
Peking University, Peking.
Peking Public Affairs Library, Peking.
Boone University Library, American Church Mission, Wuchang (via Hankow).

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Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Bogotá.
Academia Colombiana de Jurisprudencia, Bogotá.
Museo Nacional, Bogotá
Universidad de Cartagena, Cartagena.

COSTA RICA

Colegio de San Luis, Cartago.
Escuela Normal, Heredia.
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, San José.
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CUBA

Departamento de Estado, Habana.
Universidad de Habana, Habana.
Biblioteca Nacional, Habana.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Verejná a universitni kuihova, Prague, Bohemia.

DENMARK

Udenrigsministeriet, Copenhagen.
Universitets-Biblioteket, Copenhagen.

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Colegio Nacional, Guayaquil.
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Kejserliga Alexanders-Universitetet i Finland, Helsingfors.
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Université d'Alger, Algiers.
Université de Besançon, Besançon.
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Université de Grenoble, Grenoble.
Bibliothèque de l'Université de Lille, Lille.
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Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Sciences de Marseille, Marseilles.
Université de Montpellier, Montpellier.
Bibliothèque de l'Université de Nancy, Nancy.
Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris.
Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Service Français de la Société des Nations, Paris.
Bibliothèque Frédéric Passy, Paris.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris (Sorbonne), Paris.
Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, Paris.
Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre, 39 rue du Colisée, Paris.
Bibliothèque de l'Institut National de France, Paris.
Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Institut de France, Paris.
Université de Poitiers, Poitiers.
Université de Rennes, Rennes.
Bibliothèque Universitaire et Regionale, Strasbourg.
Bibliothèque de l'Université de Toulouse, Toulouse.

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Bibliothek des Grossen Generalstabs, Berlin.
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Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.
Roosevelt Zimmer, Friedrich Wilhelms Universitat, Berlin.
Bibliothek des Abgeordnetenhauses, Berlin.
Bibliothek des Reichstags, Berlin.
Universitäts-Bibliothek, Berlin.
Universitäts-Bibliothek, Bonn.
Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein, Bremen.
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Robert College Library, Constantinople.

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All the publications of the Endowment are deposited in a large number of important libraries, geographically distributed throughout the United States and foreign countries. A list of these depository libraries, arranged geographically, is printed at page 215. The Endowment books are placed with these depositories on the condition that they will be made accessible to the public and any student interested in an Endowment publication may consult the volume in the nearest depository library.

Publications of the Secretary's Office

Year Books of the Endowment, containing lists of officers and committees, information concerning the organization and annual reports of work and expenditures: 1911 (*Out of print*), 1912, 1913–1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919 and 1920.

Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie. 321 p. With illustrations. 1919.

Epitome of the Purpose, Plans and Methods of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, being an Abstract of the Year Book for 1919. 39 p.

List of Publications of the Endowment. List of Depository Libraries and Institutions. 48 p.

Publications of the Division of Intercourse and Education

No. 1 **Some Roads Towards Peace: A Report on Observations made in China and Japan in 1912.** By Dr Charles W. Eliot. vi+88 p. 1914.

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No. 8 **The Same, in the Original Spanish, Portuguese and French.** viii+221 p. 1915. (*Out of print*) A second edition of Mr. Bacon's report, containing Nos. 7 and 8 in one volume, has also been published, copies of which are still available.

[1] Revised to February 1, 1921.

No. 9 **Former Senator Burton's Trip to South America.** By Otto Schoenrich. iii+40 p. 1915.

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No. 16 **Growth of Liberalism in Japan.** Two addresses delivered by T. Miyaoka before the American Bar Association at Cleveland, Ohio, August 29, 1918, and before the Canadian Bar Association at Montreal, Canada, September 5, 1918. 24 p. 1918.

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Nationalism and War in the Near East. By a Diplomatist. Edited by Lord Courtney of Penwith. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. xxvi+434 p. 1915. Price, in Great Britain, 12s. 6d.; in U. S., $4.15.

The Industrial Development and Commerical Policies of the Three Scandinavian Countries. By Povl Drachmann. Edited by Harald Westergaard, LL.D. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England. 130 p. 1915. Price, in Great Britain, 4s. 6d.; in U. S., $1.50.

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Fiscal and Diplomatic Freedom of the British Overseas Dominions. By Edward Porritt. (*In press.*) Price to be announced.

Preliminary Economic Studies of the War

(Cloth bound copies of these studies can be purchased from the Oxford University Press, American Branch, 35 West 32d Street, New York City, for $1.00 each. Paper bound copies will be sent gratuitously upon application to the Secretary, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.)

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[1] *The Relation of the Economic and Social Conditions in Southeastern Europe and in Alsace-Lorraine to Conditions of Peace* has been abandoned, and *Cooperative Movement in Russia* will be published as No. 20.

Publications of the Division of International Law

The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907. 3d ed. xxxiii+303 p 1918. Price, in Great Britain, 6s.; in U. S., $2 00.

French edition. xxxiii+318 p. 1918. Price, $2.00.

Spanish edition. xxxv+301 p. 1916. Price, $2.00.

The Freedom of the Seas. A dissertation by Hugo Grotius. Translated, with a revision of the Latin text of 1633, by Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Ph.D. (Parallel pages.) xv+83 p. 1916. Price, $2.00.

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French edition. vii+146 p. Price to be announced.

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The Problem of an International Court of Justice. By Hans Wehberg Translated from the German by Charles G. Fenwick xxxiii+251 p 1918. Price, in Great Britain, 7s 6d ; in U. S., $3 00.

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